

MOVEMENT – 1977 – FORWARD (1977)

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1977

1977-01Jan1 *Flyer:* New Year rising: Sleigh ride at Wilkett Creek Park

1977-01Jan30 Forward Forums: Angola; Marxist view of life & culture

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 Canada coming apart AIB crippled by PQ-NDP

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 Morgentaler freed—(abortion) Law repeal next?

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 The Parti Québécois in office—The first sixty days

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 US takeover accelerates, government sells future

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 Cross-country with the NDP--(Labor) Snapping at NDP

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 NDP municipal is slate needed

*1977-Jan-fwd-24 Solidarity grows for Polish victims (on file)

*1977-Jan-fwd-24 Oh Canada—Notes on Canadian nationalism -autonomy

*1977-Jan-fwd-24 View of Saskatchewan Waffle Manifesto (RD)

*1977-Jan-fwd-24 Ottawa hightails after NATO war drive (RD-Kent)

1977-01Jan-fwd-24 (Nuclear) Hazards (*story on file*) Socialists' conference

1977-02Feb10a Proposal for ULS (York U.) convention

1977-02Feb-fwd-25 Where are we going? NDP leader a crypto-Liberal

1977-02Feb-fwd-25 Can Queen save Confederation? To reshape Canada

*1977-Feb-fwd-25 Putting it to the Québécois (RD)

*1977-Feb-fwd-25 Oh Canada—Complaints on foreign control restrictions

1977-02Feb-fwd-25 They see us as an enemy—leading Quebec NDPers

1977-02Feb-fwd-25 Cross-country with the NDP—Manitoba daycare action

1977-02Feb-fwd-25 Report affirms inequality on abortion—Damien rally

1977-02Feb-fwd-25 (Forward Forums) Stormy pages in Canadian history

*1977-Feb-fwd-25 RCMP stolen files exposed—Witch hunt hits government (file)

*1977-Feb-fwd-25 NWT arsenic fiasco bared (gold mining pollution) (on file)

1977-03Mar9aa Vote United Left Slate – against tuition hikes, cutbacks

1977-03Mar9ab Alice Klein for president – program of the ULS

1977-03Mar9e Flyer: York women: Breakthrough supports the ULS

1977-03Mar9f Flyer: Tuition increases: Tip of the iceberg

1977-03Mar24a SL Exec. Campus fraction meeting contribution

1977-03Mar99 (Undated) Preface to letter by A. Weisfeld re J.S.

1977-04Apr15 Forward Forums: Canada in Question series: Quebec

1977-04Apr30 Celebrate May Day with *Forward* – meeting and party

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 How to decide Canadian future—Decision on pipeline

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 *Viewsletter* contributes to debate on Canada's future

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 Debates equal pay for women—Toronto conference

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 Freedom of choice forces to take more militant stance

*1977-04Apr-fed-26 Oh Canada—Canadian business is against nationalism

*1977-04Apr-fed-26 RCMP—our political thought-control cops

*1977-04Apr-fed-26 Canadian left confused over Confederation crisis (on file)

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 York U. Left gains—Wins board of Governors

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 PQ setting a stiff pace for Sask-Man. NDP governments

1977-04Apr-fwd-26 Cross-country with the NDP—Hitting the speculator

1977-05May-fwd-27 Vote NDP – Labor to power (Quebec poll)

1977-05May-fwd-27 Right to decide is conceded—oppose arms vs Quebec

*1977-May-fwd-27 Committee proposes constitutional assembly

*1977-May-fwd-27 Editorial—Let the people decide! (on Quebec)

*1977-May-fwd-27 Right to decide is conceded (polls on Quebec) (on file)

1977-05May-fwd-27 Constitutional crisis puts Canada in question (Pt.1)

1977-05May-fwd-27 **Constitutional crisis - Canada in question**(Pt1/3)

1977-05May-fwd-27 Charter establishes French-language rights

*1977-May-fwd-27 Oh Canada—Official in DC lambastes Cdn nationalism

1977-05May-fwd-27 Cross-country with the NDP—Quebec debate

1977-05May-fwd-27 Steel brass, NDP, CLC leave union in lurch—May Day

*1977-07July12 S.L. document on Gay Liberation

1977-07July-fwd-28 *Ont. NDP & public ownership* New C-A endorsers

1977-07July-fwd-28 Canada's own political police – Police serve state

1977-07July-fwd-28 British socialists explain Labour Party orientation

1977-07July-fwd-28 Anti-nuclear acts sweep the world – Protest anti-gays

1977-07July-fwd-28 Levesque straddles opposing PQ forces

1977-07July-fwd-28 Lewis' opportunism led to defeat (of Ont.NDP)

*1977-July-fwd-28 Cross-country with the NDP- Sask nuclear sales

1977-07July-fwd-28 Forward fund drive close to \$5000 goal

*1977-July-fwd-28 Steel brass caught (blocking Cdn union autonomy)

1977-07July-fwd-28 Social dynamics of Quebec national movement (Pt.2/3)

1977-07July-fwd-28 **Social dynamics of Quebec nationalism (Pt.2/3)**

1977-09Sep-fwd-29 Quebec's new language law sets stage of struggle

*1977-Sep-fwd-29 Gas line risks in Canada, Benefits to US oil moguls (on file)

*1977-Sep-fwd-29 New Israeli Gov't a nuclear detonator? (on file)

1977-09Sep-fwd-29 Cross-country with the NDP—Ont. NDP leadership race

*1977-Sep-fwd-29 Oh Canada—Waffle-Canadian nationalism anti-Quebec

1977-09Sep-fwd-29 The RCMP should be dismantled (after Praxis break-in)

*1977-Sep-fwd-29 Anti-nuclear forces call for moratorium (on file)

1977-09Sep-fwd-29 A Constituent Assembly & a new Constitution

1977-09Sep-fwd-29 **Constituent Assembly & new Constitution (Pt.3/3)**

1977-10Oct6a Vote United Left Slate: Rescind the fee hikes

1977-10Oct99a (Undated) U.L.S. (York) document: “The dream is over”

*1977-11Nov12 Document: “How to advance the Damien Defence” (Kopyto co-author, Gay Liberation defence; 7 pages on file)

*1977-Nov27 Trotskyism in B.C. 1945-61 (history student essay -- on file)

1977-11Nov30-1 "Tasks and Perspectives report” (Branch Conference)

1977-11Nov30-2ax Draft Outline of a Political Report (Re: name change)

1977-11Nov30-3a Document: “Gay Liberation” by Harry Kopyto

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 RCMP 'crime sheet' exposed (by Harry Kopyto)

*1977-Nov-fwd-30 The RCMP—myths and realities, by Ross Dowson

*1977-Nov-fwd-30 NDP leadership hems after RCMP caught red-handed

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 Closures result of branch plant setup

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 Nuclear energy peril – Uranium go-ahead in Sask

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 PQ gov't moves (on) asbestos industry— 3 Dailies struck

*1977-Nov-fwd-30 PQ ferment surfaces in new journal (on file)

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 Gays dispute over Damien Defence

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 Socialist politics and gay liberation—a views exchange

*1977-Nov-fwd-30 Oh Canada—Imperializing Canadian culture

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 Cross-country with the NDP-How Sask took over potash

1977-11Nov-fwd-30 Further drift to right (Caplan promotes ONDP)

1977-12Dec13 GM clip: “RCMP sued over report on socialists”

1977-12Dec19 GM clip: “Over 60 groups Communist-controlled in 70s”

1977-99a *SL flyer*: Palestinian Self-determination & Jewish survival

*1977-undated handwritten,R. Dowson Canadian History series N.A. Vol.13 File7

1977



CELEBRATE AT THE FORWARD NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY

50 Thorncliffe Ave.

Friday
December 31st
8:30 pm

DANCING
BAR
GOURMET DELIGHTS



Admission: \$ 3.50 workers; \$ 2.00 unemployed & students

(Note: The forum scheduled for December 24th is cancelled)

AND DON'T STOP THERE: COME TO THE NEW YEAR'S DAY SLEIGH RIDE WITH
ALL THE FORWARD PERSONALITIES

AT
WILKETT CREEK PARK

(meet just north of Eglinton on the west side of Leslie)
phone 493-6829

New Year's Day, January 1st, 1977 at 4:30 pm with or with-
out snow for \$ 2.50 per adult & \$ 2.00 per child

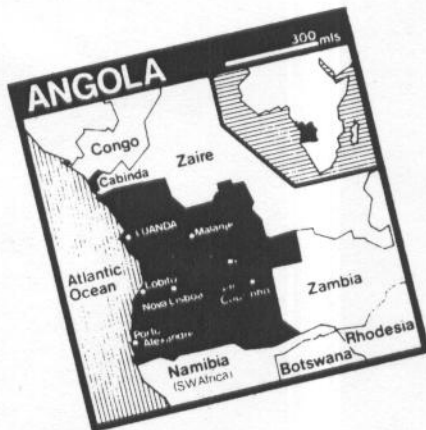
Hot chocolate and snack at getogether after

(Found in 1977)

Revolutionary struggle in **ANGOLA!**

—a Marxist view

- the dynamic of the Permanent Revolution completing the breakdown of Portuguese colonialism
- the national liberation struggle against US imperialism and South African colonialism
- international solidarity with the MPLA, the leadership of the national struggle



Speaker

Murray Dowson -- spent two years as a technical instructor in Africa, longstanding union activist and member of the Socialist League

**Fri. Jan. 30
8PM**

at 53 GERRARD ST. WEST (at Bay)

Of special interest to socialists

The Marxist View of Life and Culture

-- a series of three classes --

- FEB. 6: MARXISM AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD
Speaker: Gord Doctorow, Socialist League organizer
- FEB. 13: MARXIST APPROACH TO LITERATURE
Speaker: Ross Dowson, longstanding socialist writer
- FEB. 20: MARXISM AND THE LAW
Speaker: Harry Kopyto, well-known socialist activist and Toronto lawyer



Discussions of interest to the labor movement and socialists

presented at

the FORWARD FORUM

...every Friday night at 8:00 p.m.

53 GERRARD ST. WEST (at Bay)

Phone: 595-1284

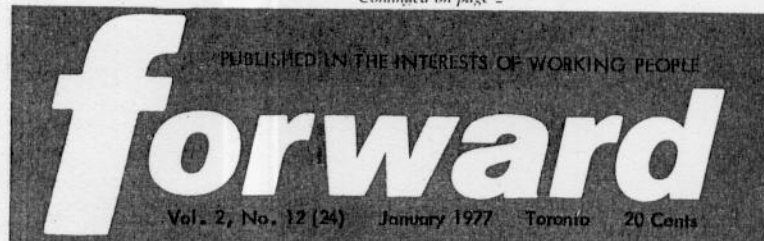
Canada coming apart at seams

By the editors

The Parti Quebecois' coming to power in Quebec marks not only a qualitative turn in the struggle for Quebec rights, but indeed in the politics of Canada and even North America. It has paralyzed all those who up until now have played an important part in all the political decision-making areas of the Canadian state — the capitalist class, their politicians and their ideologues. Canada, as an integrated state, is breaking up.

The old questions: What is Quebec, and What does Quebec want?, have now been replaced by the questions: What is Canada? and Where is Canada Going? How else can we interpret: the unilateral decision of the PQ government to pull those workers within its jurisdiction out from under the wage controls and so undermining the whole federal structure: its declared intention to replace the federal RCMP with a Quebec police force under its

Continued on page 2



PQ pullout cripples AIB NDP initiates challenge

By Harry Kopyto

With one bold move, the Parti Quebecois, dealt the Anti-Inflation Board what could become a fatal blow.

In the middle of January the P.Q. removed 580,000 provincial workers out from under AIB jurisdiction, an action certain to highlight the anti-labor thrust of the AIB to those workers still bound by the Board's rollbacks, both within and outside Quebec. Thus, Levesque's move does more than dismantle his province's anti-inflation apparatus — it challenges the authority of the AIB itself, and raises a question-mark over its very future. "It will make the program more difficult to operate," admitted Finance Minister MacDonald January 14th, calling the P.Q. action "unwise."

This crippling blow to the AIB comes at a time when stolid representatives of the business community — the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce — are pressing for an early end to the wage controls program for their own reasons. Moreover, it comes at a sensitive time when it is widely agreed among Canadian economists that the controls program has had little impact on the rate of inflation since its inception.

Since the October 14th Day of

with a sinking ship and who wish to give industry more leeway to make profits, have indicated that they would support Broadbent's initiative.

What remains, then, is the need for a major thrust by the provincial governments against the AIB this spring, when the provincial-federal agreements to administer the Anti-Inflation Act come up for renewal. Both the Schreyer and Blakeney NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan have stated their intentions to opt out — two blows which cumulatively would erode even further the authority of the discredited program.

The Ontario Tories however,

have no intention of lifting the controls early from the province's half million workers, according to Treasurer Darcy McKeogh, who announced January 14th that "there is great merit in keeping controls on the public sector" even after controls are disbanded. It therefore becomes urgent for the Ontario NDP to join the offensive shaping up against the AIB and endorse the CLC's campaign unreservedly, as the Federal NDP has begun to do.

The CLC, too, must now throw its full numerical strength and resources into the NDP in a major offensive which can free Canadian workers from Trudeau's wage freeze.

Cdn program key to effective campaign

Sadlowski slate challenges US steel brass

By Vic Hanson

The candidacy of Ed Sadlowski and his slate for the International Executive of the United Steelworkers of America has developed into a serious challenge to the entrenched labor bureaucracy of the US labor movement. In gaining over 250 nominations, mostly in the large basic steel locals in the Northeastern US, the Sadlowski team has mounted a threat that has forced bureaucrats, the likes of George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, to openly declare themselves in favor of Lloyd McBride, the hand-picked establishment candidate for president, and his slate.

The McBride team and their supporters have found it hard to attack Sadlowski on the issues such as the right to vote on contracts, rank and file democracy, and the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). The ENA is a contract that ties the workers in the basic steel industries in the US to long term contracts with small wage gains in exchange for a no layoff guarantee.

So far, with the ENA, thousands of basic steelworkers have been laid off. Yet the workers who are affected by this contract have no vote on whether they want it or not. Sadlowski favors a vote on the matter.

While the election campaign has heated up in the US and the issues have become very clear, the impact of the challenge of the Sadlowski slate has still to affect the rank and file steelworker in Canada. The lack of a real rank and file campaign in Canada could prove to be a fatal flaw in the Sadlowski campaign.

This is not an indication of a lack of a militant rank and file in Canada that would be quite willing to support the Sadlowski team. In fact, with the small effort into Canada made so far, Sadlowski has been able to gain the support of the largest local in Canada (Local 6500 in Sudbury), and has been able to open a small organizing office in Toronto.

However, a rank and file campaign has not developed in Canada because the Sadlowski slate has failed to develop an independent campaign in Canada that deals with key rank and file issues of Canadian and Quebec autonomy.

Demands such as a Canadian steelworker newspaper with editorial control in Canada and not in Pittsburgh, a Canadian policy conference with real power and

Ranks of jobless swell in number

By Murray Dowson

Continuing high unemployment is forecast in the 1976 year-end review of the federal trade department. Government statistics show 7.5 percent (seasonally adjusted) unemployment, but in fact more than one out of ever ten workers is jobless.

Ed Broadbent, NDP leader, pressed the Liberal government, prior to the Christmas adjournment of the House of Commons, to take some emergency steps to get people back to work. Joe Morris, president of the Canadian Labor Congress in a year-end interview said, "1977 is going to be a rough year. Unemployment is going to continue to climb."

The economic soothsayers of capitalism, the same ones who said in 1974 that Canada would come out of the recession before the end of 1975, a date they then postponed in 1975 to 1976, have become pessimistic for 1977. They see slow business growth, no real profit growth and weak capital investment. Unlike most of the capitalist world which saw some recovery from recession in 1976 in increased business activity and profits,

Canada's economy remained flat. But in all capitalist countries, unemployment grew.

The fight for full employment must be considered by the labor movement to be equally important to the fight against wage controls and the Anti-Inflation Board.

Emergency plans to put people to work this winter must be demanded. Municipal, provincial and federal works programs must be launched. Housing programs to build thousands of houses that workers can afford would provide work in the hard hit construction industry.

In this country, which hasn't had, except for brief intervals, anything like full employment since the end of the second world war, long term plans as well as emergency plans to fight for jobs must be developed by the labor movement. If the economy is not expanding — and even the most optimistic of the capitalist propagandists don't claim it is — then the existing work must be shared without anyone taking a pay cut!

This can be done by fighting for and winning forty hours pay for thirty hours work, 40 for 30 — That should be labor's objective.



Ed Sadlowski heads up slate of steelworker militants

Canadian ownership of union property in Canada would receive a ready response in and express the sentiment of the Canadian rank and file for Canadian autonomy within the International.

By raising these issues, "Sادلowski slate could build an independent campaign that would

pose a clear alternative on Canadian issues to the Canadian rank and file steelworker.

Sادلowski's Canadian campaign has instead been tail-ending the campaigns of Don Taylor, candidate for National Director of Canada, and Gib Gilchrist, candidate for District

Continued on page 3

In This Issue

- Privatization offensivep3
- NATO expenditures upp5
- Cross Canada with the NDPp7

p-2

Protest, which saw the major industries of the country shut down in a massive protest against the AIB, opposition has continued to spread and deepen. Unemployment, which has soared to heights matched only decades ago, is another ingredient adding instability to the controls program.

Within this context, NDP federal leader Ed Broadbent's call for an immediate end to the program January 16th, and his announcement five days earlier that the NDP would spearhead a campaign to get 50 MP's signatures on a petition to reassess the AIB, can offer a focal-point for a major offensive. The Tories, who do not want to go down with a sinking ship and who wish to give industry more leeway to make profits, have indicated that they would support Broadbent's initiative.

What remains, then, is the need for a major thrust by the provincial governments against the AIB this spring, when the provincial-federal agreements to administer the Anti-Inflation Act come up for renewal. Both the Schreyer and Blakeney NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan have stated their intentions to opt out — two blows which cumulatively would erode even further the authority of the discredited program.

The Ontario Tories however, have no intention of lifting the controls early from the province's half million workers, according to Treasurer Darcy McKeogh, who announced January 14th that "there is great merit in keeping controls on the public sector" even after controls are disbanded. It therefore becomes urgent for the Ontario NDP to join the offensive shaping up against the AIB and endorse the CLC's campaign unreservedly, as the Federal NDP has begun to do.

The CLC, too, must now throw its full numerical strength and resources into the NDP in a major offensive which can free Canadian workers from Trudeau's wage freeze.

Native leader Peltier turned over to the FBI

The mysterious circumstances surrounding the murder on the US Pine Ridges Reservation of Anna Mae Aquash, a Canadian supporter of the American Indian Movement, and a precedent set in the case of labor faker Hal Banks, failed to influence Justice Minister R. Basford.

Basford rejected all appeals that Native leader Leonard Peltier be granted asylum in Canada as a refugee from what is called US justice. Peltier has been charged with two counts of murder arising out of the struggles at Wounded Knee in South

Dakota, although the evidence used to implicate him has been negated by sworn affidavits from those who first gave it.

With that, Peltier was released from a Vancouver jail, where after being arrested by the RCMP, he had been held for 10 months — but only to be turned over to the FBI to face the murder charge in a US court.

That Ottawa, in the light of its longstanding subservience to the US ruling class and their state apparatus, failed to respond to Peltier's appeal for sanctuary as a political refugee, is not surprising. All the

less is this so in view of the splintered character of the Native movement and its failure to form a common front in support of Peltier, and the non-involvement of any substantial section of the civil rights and trade union movements and the NDP.

But the struggle still goes on — now to raise funds for Peltier's defence and to mobilize support to have the charges against him dropped. To this end efforts are being made to hold solidarity rallies at key points across the country on January 22.

Plans are underway in Toronto to hold a rally on that date which will feature John Trudell, the coordinator of the American Indian Movement, and, it is anticipated, prominent civil libertarians, unionists and NDPers. The Peltier Defence Committee is responding to the new challenge by setting up permanent and public facilities at the Don Mills Community Centre, and is possibly moving in the direction of becoming a defence committee for all Native peoples who are victims of racist discrimination.

Morgentaler freed Law Repeal next?

By Ellie Kirzner

Dr. Morgentaler is at last a free man! All the petty maneuvers, the insults, and the legal perversions that were the core of the former Quebec government's strategy for crushing the pro-choice movement, have been swept away in the winds of change. The scotching of a jury decision by the Quebec Court of Appeals, the overriding of three jury acquittals by the government, all the lavish efforts to silence Dr. Morgentaler, have come to naught, stilled by the actions of the Parti Quebecois Minister of Justice, Marc-Andre Bedard. Within two weeks of taking power, Bedard, honoring the decision of the PQ convention, christened the new government by dropping all further charges against the doctor, and declaring opposition to the restrictive federal abortion law.

The boldness of the PQ's move is a fine antidote to the sickly faint-heartedness of the federal Minister of Justice, Basford, who took his head out of the sand just long enough to laud the PQ's act as "fair and just".

Dr. Morgentaler's victory over legal persecution is a victory for all the women of Canada, at last presenting the possibility that childbearing will be an issue of choice rather than chance and circumstance. By demonstrating that "medical necessity" is an adequate defense for performing abortions without the encumbrance of hospital boards, the Morgentaler case has irrevocably knocked out the underpinnings of the federal abortion law. History will record the Morgentaler triumph as central to the fight to dismantle the abortion law and to the ultimate crumbling of the backwardness and superstition that surrounds childbearing in this society.

At the heart of the legal victory, three important ingredients have come together. Most central has been the incredible stamina and moral courage of Dr. Morgentaler himself. Face to face with the full force of the state apparatus in a legal war spanning an exhausting six year

period, Morgentaler refused to be moved from his deeply-felt conviction that women should have the right to choose. With calm defiance, he used each new twist in the bizarre legal persecution to explain his position to the Canadian public, never yielding to the hysteria, never bending to the ever-present pressures. Even now, after all that has happened, Dr. Morgentaler has decided to re-open his Montreal abortion clinic and is asking the Quebec government for certification as a provincial institution.

The case could never have triumphed, as well, without the efforts of the large number of civil libertarians, and abortion law activists, to wage a political defense. Although it proved difficult to mount a campaign worthy of the cause, due in part to the abstention of the NDP and a certain milieu of feminists, the rallies, lobbies, meetings, petitions and advertisements attracted public attention and laid bare the hideous machinations of the Quebec legal system and its defenders in Ottawa. But one last powerful force clinched the case — the enthusiasm of the Quebec people for social change and its expression in the PQ victory.

At this juncture, the struggle to repeal the abortion law finds itself facing a whole new scenario. While the implications of the Morgentaler legal victory sink in, the Canadian public awaits the release of the federal government's committee report on the state of abortion practices in the country. Chairman Robin Badgley has already promised that the report will be a "turning point", and anti-abortionists, perhaps fearing the truth will be told, have begun to squawk about its credibility. Realizing that the fate of the abortion law hangs in mid-air, the Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL) has planned a major lobby for March, in Ottawa.

The Morgentaler victory has legally torn up the abortion law by its very roots. If ever there has been a moment to seize the initiative, it is now.

The first sixty days

The Parti Québécois in office

By John Morgan

The first 60 days of Parti Québécois government have seen a marked left swing in Quebec politics on the one hand, and continued soul-searching on the part of big business, the Trudeau government and the English-Canadian press on the other. As the newly elected PQ embarks on a course introducing many important reforms and setting the stage for the creation of a unified Quebec labor movement, US and English-Canadian business face the prospect of being forced to use more French in the workplace, nationalizations of resource industries, and, leading up to the PQ referendum on independence, an agonizing debate over the pro's and con's of rupturing "coast-to-coast" Canada.

The PQ has shown itself to be a bold government, for the time-being yielding to the workers' upsurge that brought them to power. The PQ has made good on promises to normalize government-labor relations, ending a vicious confrontationist Liberal policy which saw a dozen special laws end strikes in the last few years.

Labor considers it has a "pipeline" into the government with figures like Steel leader Jean Gerin-

Lajoie in the party, and former teacher's federation vice-president Guy Chevette a parliamentary secretary. Ex-CNTU leader Robert Burns is a sitting member of Lévesque's inner cabinet. He has introduced a bill to make the Rand Formula obligatory in unionized shops.

Labor minister Jacques Couture, former priest and PQ-backed Montreal mayoralty candidate, moved quickly to raise the minimum wage to three dollars an hour and widen its application. A settlement was soon reached in the four-month strike of Laval university professors.

The government followed up settlements granting over half a million public service and construction workers wage settlements in excess of AIB guidelines by actually pulling out of federal controls structures. Likewise relegated to limbo are Liberal plans to bar strikes in public and para-public sectors. In fact, the PQ program encourages unionization in small and medium industries.

Labor anticipates an end to the austerity program in Quebec's schools and health and welfare programs. The government will shortly increase family allowances and

intends to introduce free medical care to the aged and free dental care to all under 17. It has moved to force the city of Montreal to fluoridate its water supply — the last major city in North America to hold out against this elementary health device.

While the PQ intends to promote provincial businesses it will also seek at the coming negotiations on the US-Canada Auto-Pact more auto plants in the important Quebec market. The massive US-controlled asbestos industry which carts raw materials out of Quebec as it would a colony has been attacked for the mortality rate in its mines, 20% above the national average.

The new justice minister moved rapidly to free Dr. Morgentaler from all remaining charges of illegal abortion, thus ending the mad Liberal campaign of persecution of a man declared innocent by no fewer than three juries.

On the other hand, the PQ on coming to power discovered the existence of a "Quebec CIA" — a Liberal bunker operation containing dossiers on 30,000 Québécois and organizations. Lévesque's reaction was to deny that it had any "sinister" purpose. He promised destruction of any information violating civil liberties but defended the files as possibly "useful in a crisis", betraying a certain fear of the forces which buoy the PQ. But the government is certain to drop a proposed Liberal bill designed to counter "terrorism and subversion" by empowering the Cabinet to carry out search and seizure operations to protect "the public interest".

The independentist government is moving to establish French as the "working language". Minister for Cultural Development Laurin will present new regulations enforcing Bill 22 which will pave the way for the "francophonization of companies and their executives" in Quebec. English-language proficiency tests now applied to immigrant children to determine which language they will be taught in, are to be replaced with a policy of channeling all immigrant children, including Anglophones, into French-language schools. Opening the campaign for cultural sovereignty, Communications Minister Louis O'Neill denounced the CBC decision to establish English-language TV in the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean area when French language CBC service is still unavailable in parts of Quebec.

Meanwhile the Trudeau govern-

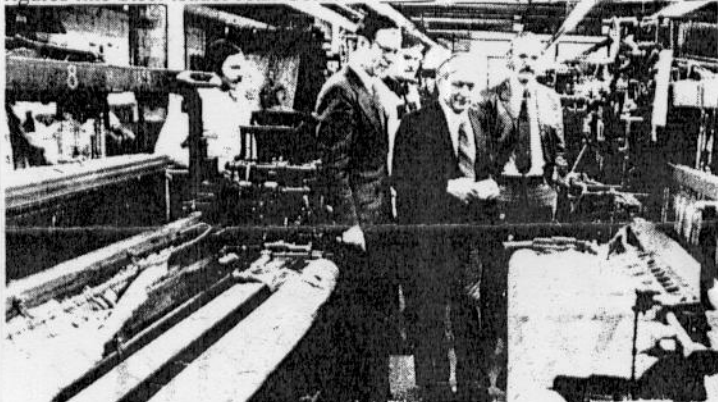
ment is revising constantly its tactics in the face of the threat of separation. The Prime Minister is debating the wisdom of holding an early election in order to crush the referendum before it has a chance of succeeding. English-Canadian dailies regularly report polls revealing how little support Lévesque would have if the referendum were held today. Trudeau chuckles publicly that Lévesque will have to face the reality of high unemployment and inflation in Québec, apparently oblivious of the fact that precisely these social and economic ills are at the root of independentism. His seeming inability to come to grips with the new situation was further demonstrated at the December Premiers' conference when he adamantly resisted giving ground to the idea

of treating Quebec as a special entity, as the NDP premiers favored. He has even publicly mused, by way of ominous denials, the viability of containing Quebec in Confederation by force.

Meanwhile the labor movement in Quebec is on the march, strong in its expectations of the PQ. Swept aside for the moment are ideas of a labor party.

The militant Quebec Teachers' Federation counselled the PQ to withdraw from the AIB, and has suggested it open up its campaign for independence by demanding the federal government hand over all money spent on education to Quebec. They see the PQ as a party free of the influence of large foreign corporations and as a force against the federal government in Ottawa, "where the influence of the Canadian bourgeoisie dominates, which makes the federal government an avowed enemy of the workers and the Quebec people."

The teachers are also engaged in talks with two other major union centrals, the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC) and the Quebec-based CNTU on the subject of forging a united Quebec labor movement. The unions are under some pressure from the PQ to embark on the road of Quebec unionism, as Lévesque called upon the Steelworkers to recognize the new reality. This move to autonomy from the "International unions" with headquarters in the US would greatly rectify the fractured power of Quebec unionism and pave the way for the establishment of a labor party.



René Lévesque and Robert Burns visit Tricofil factory in 1975. Tricofil received widespread public sympathy in Quebec after the workers took over the bankrupt company and continued its operation as a worker-managed cooperative. The PQ government is now helping out this cooperative after major banks refused to extend it needed credit for expansion.



US takeover accelerates gov't sells future: Hurtig

By Bill Shier

US ambassador to Canada, Thomas Enders, refused to debate Mel Hurtig, former chairman of the Committee for an Independent Canada, when they both put in an appearance at the University of Alberta early November. They ended up speaking in separate but equal buildings, although Hurtig charged Enders with being a downright liar in his efforts to convince Canadians that the US takeover is ebbing. A US embassy spokesman declared that "no useful purpose would be served by our comment on Hurtig's intemperate and abusive remarks."

Hurtig has denounced Enders as speaking to Canadians "in a manner reminiscent of the condescending way in which the 18th century colonial rulers conducted themselves while in the colonies."

Far from declining, US investments in Canada are growing steadily at a high rate, says the once prominent Liberal Party member. "In the eight years Pierre Trudeau has been prime minister of this country, foreign ownership has grown by a greater amount than during the entire first century of Confederation."

"The name of the game today, in 1976, is simple. The name of the game is pimping the future... Foreigners... mostly Americans, are investing record amounts in Canada in the form of high-interest long term loans to Canadians."

In an article appearing in the June issue of **International Perspec-**

tives, published by the Department of External Affairs, Hurtig noted that during the past 25 years "US ownership and control of Canadian industry and natural resources has increased by tens of billions of dollars over and above American investment in Canada, while the cost to Canada in interest payments, dividend payments and 'service charges' has been more than double the total of foreign capital entering the country."

Hurtig scored recent statements that there has been a decline in US investment, by former Ambassador Porter, the **Wall Street Journal**, and US deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs Vine, as quite silly and obfuscation. "US ownership of Canada has grown by the greatest amount ever since the Foreign Investment Review Act was introduced in parliament."

Hurtig characterizes the disputes over the Saskatchewan NDP government's nationalization of US potash holdings, over **Time Canada**, border TV, and the Mackenzie pipeline, as simply manifestations of "the debilitating economic results for Canada of the kind of 'continent sharing' we have engaged in for the past quarter of a century." But in his projection of what must be done he expresses the dilemma of the Canadian petty-bourgeoisie who are unable to resign themselves to the Canadian corporate elite's acceptance of a junior partnership in the exploitation of Canadian resources by US monop-

ly capital, which is speeding up the continuing process of integration of the Canadian economy into the US imperialist empire. "We must curtail imports from the US, but it will be very difficult. We must cut back on future foreign direct investment, but instead we're doing precisely the opposite," he laments.

And finally he expresses puzzlement that his view that "now is the time for some clear-cut friendly dividing, instead of turning over the resources of the continent," should be thought of as nationalism, as it would hardly be thought of in any other country. "It is certainly not aggressive, or chauvinistic or flag-waving or breast-beating super patriotism."

Cross country with the

NDP

By Wayne Roberts

Snapping at NDP

When NDP officials talk about the importance of establishing a closer relation between labor and the NDP, they generally mean more meetings at the leadership level. Such a meeting took place November 1976, designed to heal any breach between the NDP and the labor leadership over tripartism. The CLC and the NDP leadership agreed to do a number of things like integrating the work of their research teams. The smooth relation between the labor and NDP leadership was reconfirmed.

Then UAW head Dennis McDermott struck a blow at this superficial relationship in a new year's interview. Angered at the continued capitulation of Saskatchewan and Manitoba governments to federal wage controls, he speculated on a re-evaluation of labor's relation with the NDP. "We can't have a second class relationship under which we have the privilege of paying the bills and organizing support, only to have our friends turn their backs on us in the crunch".

A long-time supporter of the CCF-NDP, McDermott stressed that he was not "indulging in a bitching session". However, he was indulging in a little self-deception. The labor leadership knows that the NDP is their party; even the NDP leadership is its creation. They created the bureaucratic, reformist and parliamentarist NDP in the mirror of their own image. Now they complain that the rear view mirror has deceived them.

It is not for the labor leadership to

utter ultimatums which they will never follow up on. If the leadership is serious about revitalizing the NDP, it will have to infuse the NDP with the spirit of the rank and file labor movement rather than their own bureaucratic methods.

That means considerable housecleaning in their own house, a task to which they have not yet warned. That means fighting with rank and file elements struggling to make the NDP into a party reflecting the aspirations and struggles of the workers and other oppressed sectors of the population. In face of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan NDP leadership especially, it means organizing a left-wing to coordinate the remaking of these party sections.

This isn't the comfortable world of exchanging research staffs. It certainly isn't a repeat of the experience of the trade union brass when they bolstered the Blakeney and Schreyers in their battles against the Waffle. But it is the one alternative to reducing legitimate complaints to so much bluster.



Dennis McDermott

Ominous Ont.moves

As the Ontario NDP leadership practices its right turns in preparation for the election, we can expect all sorts of veering, brake jamming and collisions. Already, in the area of fund raising, the party tops' directives are turning riding associations into fund raising machines rather than political action clubs. As of the last Provincial Council meeting, when the left was unable to defeat a leadership motion, the doors have been opened for corporate financing.

This ominous move can only be a wedge for the most cynical opportunism as the leadership prepares to cash in on a watering down of the party program. Whoever pays the piper calls the tune: the leadership could only contemplate the acceptance of corporate financing in light of plans to dance to their music.

Witnessing the continued dumping of the class principles of the NDP, the odd enthusiast is bound to rush the lights. Ontario MPPs Renwick and Lawlor, not known for bucking the Lewis leadership of the party, recently cast doubt on one of the Ontario NDP's key legislative proposals: public ownership of auto insurance. Some have suggested that these trusted MPPs were flying a political kite to test the winds for a leadership hesitant about standing up to the massive counter-campaign in the works from the insurance companies. Certainly the *Globe* hurrahed the statements and encouraged other recantations by the NDP. Fortunately, the MPPs' statements were quickly classified as contrary to official NDP policy.

The "second thoughts" and

"hesitations" of Lawlor and Renwick have no merit whatsoever. Lawlor fretted about the "horrendous" BC experience where the unsound actuarial foundation of the NDP government's policies resulted in debts of over \$181 million over two years. He did not refer to the sabotage by the BC insurance agents' strike; nor did he mention skyrocketing hikes in fees after the Socred victory. He did not even mention the clear record of success in other NDP provinces.

Renwick is worried that the loss of \$550 million in premium insurance business would force insurance companies to withdraw from other areas of insurance like fire and property, as if that would be a loss to the people of Ontario. It would be an open opportunity to extend the logic of public insurance.

Public ownership of insurance is valuable in a number of ways. First, it guarantees lower costs by eliminating wasteful duplication of advertising, management and sales-huckstering. Second, it guarantees convenience and immediate justice and lower costs through the introduction of no-fault insurance. The fault basis of capitalist insurance only benefits lawyers and insurance companies who drag out payment obligations.

Third, it brings substantial investment money under public control.

In the months ahead, riding association activists will have to clutch their NDP convention resolution kits tightly and watch for vacillations by the leadership. Parliamentary leaders should be expected to honor current convention policy.

Lewis crouches before Tory assault on NDP's Ziembra

By Randy Notte

The recent revelation that over 800 doctors made in excess of \$100,000 in one year has caused an uproar in parliamentary circles. NDP MPPs Bud Germa and Ed Ziembra, responsible for the release of these names, were heavily censured by their fellow parliamentarians and in particular by Stephen Lewis. Ziembra was later forced to apologize for his actions and Germa was to leave the legislature in a state of dismay.

What MPPs objected to most was that the publication of the names represented a breach of the confidentiality of the legislature and its public accounts committee, and therefore a breach of long-standing traditions. Premier Davis was the first to make hay not only of this but also of the fact that the list provided only the gross income for each doctor and did not take into account each doctor's overhead. He used the issue to skip over the fact that certain individuals can soak the public purse for over a \$100,000. Overhead or no overhead, that is a matter for public concern. Even Stephen Lewis refuses to admit this, although in some provinces such as B.C., the salaries of all doctors are regularly published and made available to the public.

The rationale of Lewis and his friends in pressing for Ziembra's apology is that any breach of parlia-



Ed Ziembra, courageous NDP MPP who braved Tory and NDP brass censure for breaking parliamentary code of secrecy.

mentary dignity jeopardizes their efforts at reform.

It is particularly ironic that Lewis lost sight of the fact that millions of dollars in OHIP payments not only come out of working class pockets but that these same millions, according to Provincial Auditor F.N. Scott, suffer from gross mismanagement. What had the potential for becoming an important issue is now buried under the code of gentlemanly conduct.

Parliamentary bodies, which his-

torically have used the concepts of confidentiality and secret diplomacy to keep important public matters out of the public eye, very often serve to diffuse potential popular discontent. The concept of confidentiality enhances the efforts of the capitalists to keep the bulk of the working masses in servile ignorance. Socialists, however, continually press for the release of all information regarding the interests of the workers. Knowledge is power; confidentiality simply locks it away.

Where is Sask on the AIB?

The Manitoba government has signed an agreement with the province's doctors in violation of federal wage controls and has indicated that it will opt out of federal wage controls over Manitoba public workers before this spring.

Although Schreyer denied that labor's opposition to his placing Manitoba under the federal controls had anything to do with his change, the decision presents a major problem for the Trudeau government.

In Saskatchewan, the story is as yet less bright. The November NDP convention saw the issue of wage controls swept under the rug in a

phony compromise. The motion that finally reached the floor endorsed the federal caucus' stand on the AIB but excluded all reference to Saskatchewan's participation in the program.

In the face of this kind of hypocrisy, Clare Powell, the widely respected director of education and policy for the Saskatchewan NDP has resigned his post. Powell slammed Blakeney's claim that incomes policy and planning have always been part of NDP policy. "We are not living in a socialist society, but a capitalist one. The cornerstone of socialism is egalitarianism," he pointed out. "People cannot become more equal by calling on those at the bottom to sacrifice more — or even as much — as those at the top."

Powell intends to remain in the party and urges others who are dissidents to speak out. His resignation, together with the recent Saskatchewan Federation of Labor statement calling for renewed actions against the AIB, should point toward a principled struggle within the Saskatchewan NDP to end Saskatchewan's collaboration with the federal government's controls structure.

Oil suit poses nationalization

The Saskatchewan government may be taking action toward another major extension of public control over its resources. Last year, the Blakeney government moved in on the potash barons after they refused to pay provincial taxes. Stressing the "pragmatic" nature of their response, the government came to the conclusion that only public ownership could ensure adequate returns to the people of Saskatchewan, especially since the federal government and courts were bowing to the potash cartel's challenge of the Saskatchewan legislation.

Now the government is facing the same immovable opposition from gas companies like Shell and Imperial. These giants have taken their opposition to Saskatchewan's provincial resource tax to the Supreme Court where they expect Saskatchewan's laws will be struck down. The companies are demanding payment of some \$5,000 million in royalties.

The Saskatchewan government has stressed that it doesn't want to become involved as direct owners of Saskatchewan oil. As usual, they consider this step "a last resort"

But, they have to keep their options open, Blakeney insists. "We will not rule it (public ownership) out on philosophical grounds, but we will not insist on it on philosophical grounds".

But then, public ownership never was a philosophical or abstract question. It's always been a matter of necessity, the only tool to bring capital to heel and to lay down the economic foundations for socialism. Facing the arrogant oil giants and a hostile federal government and court system, they may well discover that necessity very soon.



BrLabor left rebuffs redbaiting

The appointment of well-known Trotskyist Andy Bevan to the position of youth organizer for the British Labor Party has created hysteria amidst top circles of the parliamentary caucus. A witchhunt campaign has been launched in the press about Trotskyists as outside "infiltrators".

The witchhunt has not been well received in the British working class movement, where traditions of democracy are well rooted and where militants are trusted rather than treated as outside agitators. One Labor Party MP, Martin Flannery, has attacked the hysteria of people like former Prime Minister Harold Wilson as a coverup to divert

party attention from the reality that "the International Monetary fund is dictating what the government should do and that the Central Intelligence Agency has deeply infiltrated British political life". (The government recently moved to deport two US citizens who have published exposés of the CIA based on their own experience).

Bevan's appointment, tribute to his long period of activism in the Labor Party Young Socialists and his persistent presentation of working class principles as the way out of Britain's problems, has been defended by many leading Labor Party members, including left MP Tony Benn. Marxism has always

been accepted as one of the many sources of Labor's inspiration, Benn pointed out, and there is room for Marxists and Trotskyists in the party.

Bevan's appointment takes place at a time when the party ranks are beginning to respond to the treachery of the Labor Party government. Many right wing MPs now face severe challenges in their own ridings by well-organized and popular preparations to nominate left-wing candidates for the forthcoming elections. Right-wing cabinet member Reg Prentice has already been told by his local branch committee not to stand for re-election.

NDP municipal is slate needed

By Dale Ritch

The results of the recent municipal elections in Metro Toronto have resulted with the left no stronger than before, albeit not without a sharpening and clearing of class lines. Although the most painful thorns in the side of Big Business interests, John Sewell and Dan Heap, were re-elected, Heap fighting off a well financed and publicized business candidate, the left was not able to add to their numbers on the key City council, on the suburban bodies, or on Metro Council.

Sewell himself was subsequently excluded from participation on either of the Toronto or Metro executive councils by an organized rightist campaign led by the 'red' Tory, mayor Crombie. The reformers on council have been reduced essentially to the role of 'trouble makers' as they are few in numbers and have been excluded from any positions which command authority or influence. Shortly after the election, unelected Metro chairman Godfrey who is a Tory, launched a vicious attack on the reformers in an obvious attempt to further isolate them.

The main focus for the left's intervention in the city was the Movement for Municipal Reform (MMR), a loose coalition of NDPers, Communist Party members, Liberals and community activists who endorsed 19 candidates and recommended 21 others. The main goal of the MMR is to form a coalition of 'progressives' to take on the developers, preserve

neighbourhoods, extend public transit, reduce residential taxes and stop cutbacks in social services.

The main contradiction facing the MMR was not in its program which addressed key class questions, but in its conception of the type of political movement needed in order to defeat the business interests which control City Hall.

The MMR does not pose the need for a working class alternative at City Hall but only for a loose coalition of so-called progressives, membership from which even Conservative Mayor David Crombie was not to be excluded. Several MMR endorsed candidates identified openly with Crombie in their attempts to win over middle and upper-middle class support and thus broaden their electoral base. Susan Fish was an MMR recommended candidate who voted along with Crombie against electing Sewell to the City of Toronto executive committee.

Much of the MMR's support comes from community activists (including Liberals and Tories) who are not committed to the working class but simply to the preservation of their neighbourhoods. The organizational format of the MMR, based as it is on local organizations primarily committed to the specific needs of their own neighbourhoods, makes it impossible to develop a coherent, city wide program. Short term contradictions have already appeared in some areas where campaigns have been organized to prevent subsidized housing (a dire need for many working class fami-

lies) from being built. Attempts by the MMR to bridge the differing class interests inherent in the community organizations can only result in the long run abandonment of support for the needs of working people.

The only serious left alternative to the MMR was provided by some left NDPers who ran openly as NDPers thus posing the need for a working class alternative. Harry Kopyto and Harry Paine ran for education trustees in North York and Toronto on the NDP education platform. In Ward 4 in Toronto, Joe Pantalone ran as an official NDP candidate stressing the need for an NDP government at both the municipal and provincial level as necessary steps in solving the problems facing working people.

The strong showing of Pantalone who lost by only a few hundred votes and received no support from the official party apparatus, demonstrated the potential strength of an NDP-labor movement intervention at the municipal level.

It will be necessary for the NDP to move quickly to adopt a municipal program and for NDP activists to involve themselves in municipal politics at the grass-roots level. The NDP Toronto Area Council is holding a conference in early April to draw up such a program and to plan a strategy for the next round of municipal elections coming up in the fall of 1978. All NDPers interested in seeing the NDP more involved in Metro politics should plan on attending the conference which will be held at Castle Frank High School the first week-end in April.

Rally called for Damien

Ex-racing steward John Damien will be marking the second anniversary of his firing, February 7. To celebrate his struggle, the Committee to Defend John Damien will be holding a rally on Saturday, February 5. The rally will feature a broad panel of speakers, songs, and an accompanying social.

The rally will be held at 8 pm in "The Buttery", Devonshire Place (on the west side of Varsity Stadium) on the University of Toronto's St. George Campus.



Hazards multiply but so do nuclear plants



Ernest Mandel

US blocks Mandel tour

The U.S. State Department, exhibiting callous disregard for democratic rights and free speech, has barred Ernest Mandel from exercising his transit rights to conduct a lecture tour in Quebec.

The noted socialist and Trotskyist leader was on his way to Quebec from Columbia in late November when the US authorities prevented him from continuing his flight during a routine stopover at the Miami airport.

While Ottawa officials said nothing to protest this clear violation of its sovereignty, a statement issued by a number of Quebec groups including the Central Committee of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) gave a probable explanation for this silence: "We have serious grounds to suspect that this move by the American authorities may not have come without the urging of the Ottawa government, at the behest of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who have a long tradition of collaboration with the American repressive forces."

Forward, January, 1977, 3

Socialists hold annual conference

By Harry Kopyto

Members and supporters of the Socialist League, a Toronto-based revolutionary socialist organization, met in December at their annual conference to evaluate their political work in 1976 and project their activities for the coming year.

Presenting the tasks and perspectives on behalf of the executive, Socialist League organizer Abie Weisfeld underscored two points: the deepening militancy of the labor movement in 1976 which found its most dramatic expression in the October 14th Day of Protest, and the continued sectarianism and ultraleftism of most of the revolutionary socialist formations across Canada, which has resulted in a plethora of organizations contributing to the general state of disunity of the radical left.

Within this context, Weisfeld outlined the various sectors of radicalization in which Socialist League members had intervened — the labour, student, womens' liberation movement and the New Democratic Party, indicating that the organization though modest in size, had remained grounded in the realities of Canadian politics and resisted the temptations to flirt with ultraleft "shortcuts" in the struggle to win Canadian workers to an understanding of the need for a socialist Canada.

A further highlight of the conference was a report by Forward editor Wayne Roberts. Brother Roberts pointed out the importance of a socialist press in the process of intervening in the struggles of various sectors of the radicalization and in providing leadership, direction and analysis to these sectors. He reported that thousands of copies of Forward were distributed on October 14th to participants in the mass demonstrations which swept across the country that day, thereby making available to labor militants a practical socialist perspective in their struggle against the Anti-Inflation Board.

The discussion that followed indicated a spirit of confidence and commitment to the building of a mass class struggle left wing in the NDP and labor movements. In keeping with the educational tasks which are the primary goal of the Socialist League at present, a motion was passed unanimously to place priority on the continued circulation of the socialist press and to endorse the conference's main reports.

Subscribe to FORWARD

We're not in the pay of big business!

6 issues
for \$1.

name _____

address _____

FORWARD, Box 778,
Adelaide St. P.O., Tor.



Proposal for convention, Feb. 10 from Jane Chisolm, Ian Kellogg, Paul Kellogg, Alice Klein, Mary Marrone.

For six years, York University has been home to a unique phenomenon in the student movement, the United Left Slate/Coalition. At few other campuses in Ontario have left students been able to maintain an organization of this character, certainly none with the consistency of left students at York. This year, under the pressure of the increasing attacks being made against the right to a post-secondary education, being mounted by the Liberal and Conservative governments in Ottawa and Queens Park, similar formations have been organized at two or three other campuses, most particularly at McMaster and Queens. One would hope that our example provided an inspiration to these left students.

The ULS/ULC has been primarily an electoral organization, coming to agreement on a broad program to contest student council elections and by-elections, and use the elections as an opportunity to reach broad layers of students and present the socialist alternative. Last year, after winning a majority in CYSF, we went beyond an organization existing only at election times and in CYSF and operated as an ongoing coalition, intervening in and providing leadership for the various struggles and campaigns that occurred last year: the food boycott, the Rosie Douglas defense campaign, the anti-cutbacks campaign, the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws, etc.

We continued to operate this year with the perspective of maintaining and consolidating an ongoing organization, our biggest experience being building support for the labor movement's National Day of Protest, October 14.

Most evident during that experience and subsequent events (particularly National Students Day and the CYSF by-elections), were the unfavourable conditions in which the left was operating. The first response by students to the impact of the cutbacks, the worsening of summer and career job prospects etc., had been to retreat, to attempt to find individual solutions to the society-wide crisis that was rearing its head on the campuses in the form of the cutbacks. There was no mass milieu capable of responding to the initiatives of socialist activists to

*forgot
election
defeat*

organize campaigns against the cutbacks, against the foreign student fee increase, etc.

Of course, this affected our work. The left was isolated and this led to fragmentation of its work and demoralization.

The upcoming elections open the possibility of a change in this situation. Our experience in the past has been that effectively conducted elections campaigns, with a clear political program that addresses itself to the real concerns of students and puts forward a workable and understandable program of action, that these type of campaigns can pull in behind it the majority of the left students at York, despite their differences and isolation, and offers the best opportunity to reach out to the whole community at York, to educate and propagandize for socialism.

This is the orientation from which we have formulated the following programmatic proposal. It should also be born in mind, that this campaign, as well as providing a big opportunity for educational work, could get us elected. There has been no let-up in the government's attack on post-secondary education. There has in fact been a marked ~~speed~~ speed up in the tempo of its attack. The continuation of the cutbacks as "our" governments attempt to force the people of Ontario and Canada to be the victims of a social crisis not of our making, poses in life the necessity of socialism and leads people to socialist consciousness. This is as true at York as it is in the rest of society.

1) Propose that the main platform of our campaign be formulated along the following lines:

For a strong student union that organizes students

- 1) to rollback the tuition fee hikes,
- 2) to stop the cutbacks,
- 3) for student staff faculty control of the university,
- 4) for women's fights,
- 5) a student union that actively supports the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students.

(c)
2) The main theme of the campaign is the growing attacks being mounted against post-secondary education in the form of tuition hikes, cutbacks, etc. This poses the necessity for students to have political representation to defend their interests. It poses the necessity of students having a voice both inside and outside the university.

3) We need to cut across the reactionary argument that problems of the university are particular to the university and can be dealt with within the confines of the university.

We must show that cutbacks are not isolated to education that they are part of a whole campaign to make poor and working people victims of capitalism in crisis.

Education cutbacks are one part of social service cutbacks, wage rollbacks etc. We must consequently come out in support of the unions on campus, YUFA, YUSA, GAA in particular, and in opposition to the so-called Anti-Inflation Board. Students will one day be workers, and attacks against the working class today will be felt by them tomorrow.

Related to this is the question of CYSF involvement in federal and provincial politics. We must point out that the university is already involved: our president, H. Han Macdonald being a leading Conservative, the present CYSF being led by active members of the Liberal Party. These two parties are the parties leading the assault on post-secondary education, and it's no accident that nobody in the ULS belongs to either of them, and that many if not most of the ULS members are members and supporters of the NDP.

Within the context of the Board of Governors campaign, we can effectively bring up the question of control of the university, by exposing the corporate links of the Board, exposing its undemocratic character. We can pose and end to Big Business control of the university for student staff faculty control.

Support for the development of course unions also is a concrete issue in the struggle to democratize the university.

DOOR TO THE PRINTING BOOKSHELF
B 2' x 4' right leather at the top
top drawer of filing cabinet
envelope



Where are we going, & what is to be done?

By The Editors

The cries that Canada is breaking up, while designed to rouse fears about the unplotted way ahead, nonetheless are—true.

Exhortations from the cabal of Liberal, Tory and Socred servants of Canada's corporate elite—that the working class should try to keep it pasted together by joining in their attempts to frustrate and block the Québécois efforts to establish national sovereignty—are false. Besides, it would appear that these efforts, even with the help of the NDP leadership, are fore-doomed to failure.

For, on the one hand, even Trudeau has despaired that Canadians as a people are "unpatriotic", too "cynical and blasé" about Canada. There is no substantial nationalism in Canada that identifies with the Canadian state and its servile ruling class who are widely recognized as failing to stand up against Washing-

ton's repeated violations of Canada's national sovereignty.

On the other hand, the struggle in Québec itself has proven to be irrepressible. There is little doubt when Lévesque says Québec's course to independence is irreversible that he speaks for the most farseeing and dynamic forces in Québec society who, an increasing number of observers admit, are rapidly becoming the decisive and even the formal majority.

The crises of the old and present Canada are in reality nothing but the crises of the complex of bureaucratic and repressive class structures imposed and cunningly shaped and reshaped to guarantee the ownership of the vast resources and industrial plant of this country by monopoly capitalism—for their profit—no matter what the cost to the lives of the present and future generations of the working people.

Quebec's course firm, irreversible

While this crisis finds its first expression on a constitutional plane in a period of profoundly uneven and only developing class conflict, it is nonetheless a product of deep underlying social tensions and conflicts. Canada is approaching a decisive turning point in its history. Once a colony of British imperialist interests, established through the conquest of the Québécois and the imprisonment of the native peoples in reserves, it has become a capitalist dependency or satellite of the US imperialist colossus. With Quebec, Canada is in the process of breaking up—at its weakest link.

Where is it going? This new turn in the 200 year long struggle of the

Québécois for national liberation makes it possible at long last to conceive that this country, not just francophone Québec but anglophone Canada also, can be reshaped to meet all the hopes and aspirations of her peoples—which in the opinion of *Forward's* editors can only be realized in a socialist commonwealth.

The Québécois are breaking out of confederation on their own way to establishing a new nation state. The character of that state will be determined in the final analysis in the process of the struggle of the contending forces within Québec society itself. Quite correctly the Québécois



Lack of strategy stalls anti-AIB fight

By P. Kent

When will Phase III in organized labor's struggle for the abolition of Ottawa's AIB wage freeze get underway?

A Statistics Canada report on February 11 revealed that the Consumers Price Index for January registered the highest monthly increase since the controls were imposed back in October 1975. Higher food and shelter costs drove the annual rate of increase in the cost of living up to 6.1%, compared with the rate of 5.8% a month earlier.

Liberal government officials, with the advice of top corporate heads, the encouragement of US government advisors, and the support of the Tories, are talking about the removal of the controls—within the next year, or six months, or less—suggesting all that is needed are assurances from the union leader-

ship that there be no catch-up drive. But the controls are still firmly in place and are being vigorously enforced by Anti Inflation Board officials.

Some 450 workers at four flour mills in Montreal have been on strike since January 31 to win contracts such as were negotiated with the owners of the Phenix Mill for an 11.88% increase in the first year and 11.95 in the second, which the AIB has rolled back to 9.39% and 7.3%. The Montreal strikers, organized in the CNTU, on February 12 won the support of Food & Allied Workers in the west not to supply the struck Montreal mills. The strikers have vowed to stay out until the cutbacks are cancelled. Last month, 3,000 employers at five Quebec plants of Celanese (Canada), even the Drummondville local which was on strike for six months, had their

negotiated contract rolled back. On February 17 the AIB rolled back wage settlements involving 25,000 workers in four supermarket chains operating in Ontario.

The wage freeze has been very costly for the workers of Canada. According to Grace Hartman, CUPE members alone lost 23.3 million dollars in the past 15 months as a result of AIB cutbacks of negotiated wage increases. This blockage of the collective bargaining system made 1976 the poorest year for labor organization since 1972. Ontario reported 17% fewer certifications than in 1975.

Phase I in labor's strategy to smash the controls was the organization in the spring of '76 of the most massive series of demonstrations yet seen across the country. Phase II was the mounting of the first general strike in North America—October 14—when over 1 million walked off their jobs. So far Phase III remains undefined, although on January 29 a CLC executive statement suggested that it would take the form of a pressure campaign against the provincial governments "to convince the provinces they should refuse renewal of controls agreements with the federal government when they expire March 31."

Since then however the Socred government in BC, where the October 14 Day of Protest was the most successful, has stated that it intends to sign on again after March 31.

Gov't plans no action for the unemployed

By Ellie Kirznér

Figures don't lie, but liars sure can figure!

Statistics Canada's recent figures on unemployment are a case in point.

Instead of counting every Canadian who wanted work, it classified only those who had searched for jobs during the last month. Trimming the figures to a neat 7.5%,

economy. On the contrary, it is part of the essential mechanism of the system, and has a definite function to fulfill. The first function is that it maintains the authority of master over man.

How convenient that in the midst of a wage freeze, unemployment has sauntered in to impose discipline upon workers. How fortunate for Big Business that the psychological off-

Man. NDP leader confirms he is a crypto-Liberal

Ed Schreyer, the NDP leader and premier of the Manitoba NDP government, has ended all rumours about his being a crypto-Liberal of the Trudeau machine. He has candidly revealed facts that are conclusive proof that any hour or day now, we will see him taking his place as a minister in the federal cabinet or as head of one of its key boards.

Because his government is due to go the electorate within the next several months, it is all the more urgent that the Manitoba Federation of Labor, the constituency associations and the provincial executive of the Manitoba NDP, immediately call a convention, prepare the grounds for the election of a new leader and remove Schreyer from public office. In an interview with the featur-

ed Toronto Star reporter, Richard Gwyn, appearing in the February 19 issue, Schreyer not only declared his readiness to join the Liberal machine in Ottawa. He affirmed that as long ago as September 1975, when the Trudeau government imposed its wage freeze, which he publicly endorsed, he was offered the finance minister's portfolio. He turned it down for unexplained reasons.

Again, as late as two or three months ago, he was offered and had actually signified his acceptance of the position as chairman of the National Energy Board. The next day, according to this candid interview, Schreyer was talked out of it by his cabinet.

End the cover-up! Clear the traitor away, so labor can move forward!

In this issue:

Sadlowski and Steelp 3

God save the Queenp 4

Czech socialist struggle.p 7

will reject all opinion and advice that does not recognize the full legitimacy of that state, now in birth, no matter what the repercussions of its formation are on the Canadian nation state.

It is no longer sufficient to recog-

nize the right of the Québécois to self determination. That right is already in practice. It is now necessary insofar as the anglophone working class is concerned, to recognize the right to separation and separation itself.

Rulers in disarray and confusion

Any concept that the separation of Québec is bad for the rest of Canada is completely false. And it is no more acceptable when covered over with a veneer of what is passed off as "socialist theory." Of course socialism can not be built in a Canada that stops abruptly at the Ottawa river. No more than socialism can be built on the advanced capitalist economy of Québec alone. But the situation, while different, would not be qualitatively different in a Canada that ranges all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. While workers

can take power in one country and should grasp any opportunity to do so, they cannot establish socialism in one country—certainly not in Canada with its economy grossly distorted by the demands of the imperialist world market and above all by US imperialist ownership of its key and strategic sectors.

The dynamic of the struggle now unfolding in Québec tends to sustain the view that it is there we will witness the first socialist breakthrough

Continued on page 3

Continued from page 1

on the North American continent. The overwhelming majority of those who conceive of themselves as socialists in Québec today are already deeply involved and firmly committed to this process and their forces are expanding. Besides, the simple fact of the matter is that freedom and socialism cannot be established in Canada unless the Québécois are free—anglophone labor cannot be free while francophone labor is not free.

The capitalist class of Canada and all that serves its rule, with the collapse of the 200 year long effort to contain the Québécois, are in profound confusion and disarray. While holding federal office the Liberal Party controls the government of only two small provinces. In Québec, its stronghold since the days of Laurier, the party is undergoing a continuing process of deterioration, and remains leaderless. A party of uneasy alliances, the Tories are paral-

ized and saddled with a leadership that is a public joke. Riddled with scandals involving nuclear energy sales and internal security, the credibility of parliament continues to decline. With a PQ minister representing Québec, the death knell was rung on federal-provincial ministers' conferences and their secret deals that so long sustained the creaking state structure.

Canada has no national economic strategy, no national energy policy and no policy on the native peoples. Faced with a continuing recession, the capitalist politicians see no way out but to demolish the feeble FIRA controls on foreign investments and clear the way for what they now hope will be a new flood of US capital and complete the US imperialist takeover. Never before in Canadian history has the capitalist state, its governmental apparatus, its political parties and their leaderships been so compromised and discredited.

For a constitutional assembly!

In no way can they be counted on to solve any one of the problems now confronting anglophone Canada in the interests of the majority of the population. Left to themselves however they will again rally to patch together the results of their past schemings, so that their ship can once more lumber on, if only to flounder at the next turn. At this critical turning point in history, the future of anglophone Canada cannot be left to these jerry-builders of the past. We must move out on a new course, the people themselves must enter the arena of history.

In somewhat similar circumstances in past world history the concept of a constituent or constitutional assembly has been projected. This idea is being talked about in various circles today in Canada—with Trudeau flippantly saying that in such an eventuality he would himself run for office.

To meet this crisis and to break out of the present impasse we support this concept of a new constituent

assembly. Pressure could be mounted across the country to force the present government to issue such a call and allocate the necessary public funds to get the process underway. Should it balk, the governments of Saskatchewan and Manitoba and/or the Canadian Labor Congress with the support of other popularly based organizations could take the initiatives on their own that could force the government to act—or failing that, themselves set the process underway so that it would establish its own legitimacy.

Among the many things this would involve would be the striking off of a broad representative impartial commission with ample funds and all government facilities at its disposal, including prime radio and TV time, that would hold open sessions at all key points in the country. There, spokespersons from all political, cultural social organizations and bodies, and even individuals, could present papers and amplify their views on a new constitution for Canada.

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from FORWARD may be reprinted without fee as long as FORWARD is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

What is to be done?

The opportunity to reshape Canada

These discussions would inevitably deal with such important questions as whether a 20th century Canada would want as its head of state a Queen of another country, whether it should have an appointed Senate restricting the powers of the elected assembly, what the authority and term of office of the assembly would be, whether it would have representation on the basis of professions, of trades, from places of work, whether or how much representation it would have from inherited wealth such as Trudeau, from lawyers, doctors, and whether representatives would be subject to immediate recall by their constituency.

The preamble to the constitution or other supplementary documents such as a Bill of Rights would declare how Canadians see themselves in relation to other peoples of the world and what they conceive as the aim and fundamental nature of the society they are building in Canada. It would have to declare whether it is tolerable to have private ownership of our natural resources, not to speak of ownership subject to the laws of another country, and whether it is acceptable in this day to leave the means of production in industry, upon which the employment and the physical well-being of the people depends, under private ownership and operation on the motive of profit. The question of religion and the state, of religious instruction in the schools and church ownership of revenue-producing properties, would have to be outlined. It would enunciate ge-

neral principles that would determine whether Canada could continue membership in such military alliances as NORAD and NATO. In dealing with human rights it would have to decide whether barring of discrimination on the basis of sex should not also include sexual orientation and whether abortion should continue to be in the criminal code and should not be a simple matter of personal choice.

Following extended and free wheeling discussions involving the entire population a special subcommission could be struck off. Then, guided by the many submissions draw up a draft of a constitution and any necessary supplementary documents. These drafts could again be subject to popular criticism and amendment and adjustment. Then they could be declared a provisional constitution upon which elections would be held and a representative assembly formed which would adopt a constitution—and commence to legislate the country along its lines.

Through the processes of working out a new constitution a tremendous awakening and unleashing of all the creative forces that reside in her peoples, particularly in the highly educated and skilled working class, would take place. The foundations for completely reshaping Canada, with all its magnificent natural resources and vast productive plant, would be firmly and truly laid.

Advance the call for a constituent assembly across Anglophone Canada!

Can Queen save Confederation?

By Ken Napier

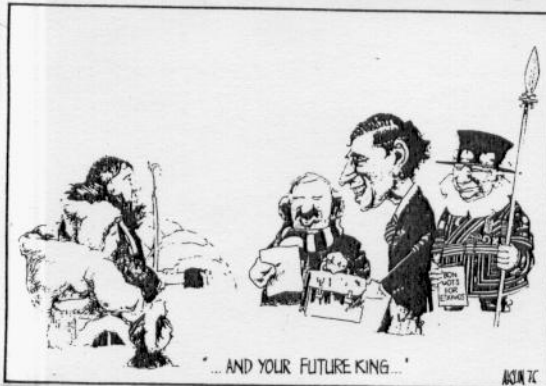
This is the year we celebrate the Silver Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne. But what has happened? Can it really be true that four Quebec MPs, Liberals at that, refused to sing the Royal Anthem to salute Her Majesty, and that two of these MPs actually sat for the singing of the Queen?

The MPs explained their behavior by saying that God Save the Queen "conjures up bad memories for French Canadians." It is the symbol of their conquest and degradation.

Despite the publicity in the schools and newspapers on the Silver Jubilee, which has resulted in tens of thousands of brochures flooding the schools across Ontario and the other provinces, and front-page articles on what Prince Andrew, who is staying at a rich boys' school outside Peterborough, thinks of our weather, the history of the institution of monarchy still leaves "bad memories" in the minds of many people.

The monarchy reached its zenith as a feudal institution cradled in the ideology of divine right. As the representative of the will of God in non-religious matters, the monarchy provided political rationalization for the use of brute force and dictatorial means to sustain feudal society and put down upheavals and rebellions. Its central mystifying function added cohesion and ideological justification to property relations which resulted in brutal exploitation by land barons over serfs.

With the rise of capitalism, the monarchy in England was incor-



porated into the matrix of capitalist institutions. The image of an erstwhile autocratic institution voluntarily accepting constitutional limits imposed by a parliament of the people asserting the will of the democratic majority served to veil the reality of class exploitation and capitalist social control. The Crown remained the centrepiece, the symbol of a national unity which was daily belied by the realities of class division. The pomp and ceremony engendered about the Crown was part of the ceremonial veil behind which hid the real face of class rule.

Canada's capitalist architects likewise incorporated the monarchy into the fabric of Canada's constitution and political institutions. John A. MacDonald and the robber barons who were the Fathers of Confederation saw the importation of the monarchy as a conservative force useful in blocking the democratic winds from the republican south. Canada's attachment to the Crown symbolized the fawning of the Canadian state before the British Empire's aristocracy and its depen-

dency on British imperialism.

Through the years, the monarchical imprimatur has sealed every act of Canadian capitalist rule, from the raiding of the public treasure to finance the CPR, to dragging Canada into three imperialist wars, to violating the democratic rights of the Québécois through the War Measures Act in 1970. Even as Canada's rulers succumbed to the Americanization of its resources and economy, they found the aura of the monarchy a useful tool to stir up jingoistic feelings of loyalty and vanity and to give authority to the machinations of Parliament.

The attempt to revitalize monarchical sentiment around the Silver Jubilee is part of this process. The fact that such sentiment is needed to stir up a sense of national purpose and unity is a sign of the ideological bankruptcy of those who rule Canada. This fact was dramatically emphasized by the parliamentary members of the Liberal party who were themselves compelled to repudiate this tattered and discredited institution which has remained a key symbol of the national oppression of the Québécois.

The question which remains to be answered however, is why did the members of the NDP in parliament stand steadfast in salute of her majesty? Are not the workers who built Canada and who created its wealth the ones to whom their allegiance should be paid?

They see us as an enemy, admits leading Que NDPer

OFF BALANCE BY QUEBEC POLICY



By Wilf Gribble

While NDP leaders fumble for words of wisdom on Québec and Confederation, Pierre Bastien, pro-federalist and anti-PQ vice-president of the Québec NDP provided the Manitoba New Democratic Youth convention with a perspective on their credentials. "I'm sure for most of the people in Québec, the NDP is the same as the Conservatives. For other people (outside Québec) the NDP in Québec does not exist." Speaking of relations between the federal and provincial sections of the NDP, he claimed the federal NDP "always acts without us, even when we're really involved. They always do what we don't want."

Indeed, the NDP leadership's reaction to the PQ victory ranges from the sublime to the ridiculous to the treacherous. There's Max Saltzman, who thinks that televising federal parliamentary proceedings in French will win the Québécois masses currently misled by the pro-separatist media. Apparently unaware that Québec's big business media are all pro-federalist, Saltzman

might do better to fret about the impact of televised proceedings on English Canada's appreciation of federal parliament.

Des Morton, the influential political strategy adviser for provincial and federal leaders, rarely gets a chance to show the military flair he has gained in his area of academic expertise. He made the *Star* editorial page with a prediction of war that will surely follow Québec separation. Surely a way could be found to keep Canada together to avoid this inevitability, he pleaded. Confederation "still makes as much sense as it ever did," he urges, apparently oblivious to the fact that Québécois have finally demonstrated just how little sense it makes to them.

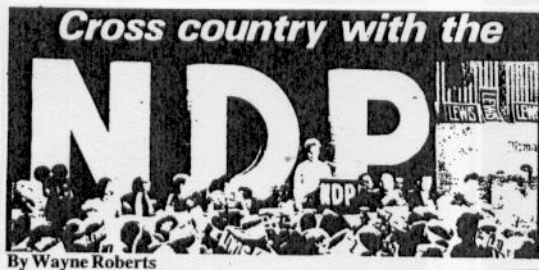
The rest of the NDP leadership is prepared for an affair. We've got to defeat sparatism with a better idea, says Saskatchewan Premier Allan Blakeney, namely decentralization of Ottawa's power. Ontario's Stephen Lewis and Donald Macdonald join in calling for more autonomy for all provinces in the fields of culture, resources and social affairs. Lewis even cheered Tory Premier Davis' appeal for French-English reconciliation, an appeal which posed no change in the status quo. Broadbent has taken a page in his wooing from the adage that the way to a fickle person's heart lies through the stomach. With more housing and jobs to gild the cage, he feels, Québec can be won to federalism.

The NDP leaders' federalism blinds them to the reality that Québec is irrevocably moving to independence. Their proposals are shot through with contradictions. Supposedly they like federalism because it provides the basis for central planning to remove regional, social and national inequality. They do not recognize that confederation was designed as a machine for social, regional and national inequality. It has born this fruit, consistently

undermining every section of the country outside of the golden horseshoe. At the same time, the NDP is prepared to sacrifice possibilities of centralized planning to keep Québec in. They are destroying their own straw men and in the process sounding more like Premier Davis and Lougheed than labor spokesmen.

John Harney, twice candidate for federal leadership of the NDP, is one of very few NDPers trying to come to grips with reality. In the February issue of *Canadian Forum*, he gives a cold shower to half-hearted B&B concessions which put the weight of confederation on the shoulders of well meaning individuals. He sees three possibilities: one, avoid the question and let matters drift to disintegration; two, work out a new relationship between an independent Québec and the rest of Canada; and three, "open and fair negotiations between the peoples of Canada, possibly in the format of a constituent assembly chosen and elected for the purpose of writing a new constitution, an assembly which would include all views and consider all options, even that of sovereign yet closely related states in this northern half of the North American continent." Even this statement, however, fails to recognize that the essential steps to Québec independence have already been taken. The "Canadian question" has now become: what will "English" Canada do?

John Harney has come a long way from the days when he campaigned for the NDP leadership almost solely on the grounds that he could speak fluent French. The rest of the NDP will have to follow his footsteps, and break out of the prison of their clichés, or the party will become irrelevant during the most momentous constitutional crisis in the country's history.
FORWARD, Mid-February, 1977 5



By Wayne Roberts

forward
#25 Feb 1977

Man. daycare action

Manitoba parents and children provided an interesting example of the possibilities of direct action within the NDP.

In the last week of January, just before the NDP Manitoba convention, the department of Health and Social Development made its final offer to 165 provincially assisted group daycare centres. Although day care spokesmen claimed that the one dollar per day child increase was too little too late in face of the financial crises they face, Health Minister Desjardins took a let-them-bite-bullets stance. Daycare centres would simply have to cut back their services, he advised.

However, a group of 80 parents and children from one affected co-op centre marched into the Winnipeg NDP convention, demanding more

funds and chanting "People matter more". An hour and a half later, two emergency resolutions were discussed. The first, asking for an inquiry into the benefits of a hot lunch program for children between the ages of 5 and 12 was rejected. The second, calling for increased subsidies for day care was carried. Mines Minister Sid Green said he will not be satisfied until free day care service is provided for all Manitoba residents on the same basis as services like Medicare. Desjardins was unmoved: "...nothing is changed, and no deficit (of existing childcare centres) will be picked up", he told the **Winnipeg Tribune** after the resolution was passed.

Clearly it will take more than 80 protesters and an emergency resolution to change his mind.

Douglas on owner class

Following a speech at York University in Toronto on January 20, long-time CCF and NDP leader T. C. Douglas granted an interview with the York student paper **Excalibur**.

His assessment of the Tory and Liberal failure to remedy inequality recognizes the incompatibility of capitalism and equality.

"The basic problem goes way back to the fact that under the market economy the people who produce the wealth of the nation never get enough to buy it back. In other words, there is surplus value in that production. That surplus value goes to the owner class. The owner class uses the surplus capital as a cash flow and capital for further expansion. The more they invest it for expansion the more of the country

they own...

"So, you can only have equality of opportunity if somebody is prepared to step in and say look, the major decisions affecting the economy cannot be made on the basis of profitability. They have to be made on the basis of public good."



Debate on democracy

One of the most promising aspects of the CLC manifesto adopted last spring and now in process of revision (or being filed in the waste basket) was its challenge to the unlimited power of capital and governments to call all the shots on the economy. For the CLC leaders, it was time for labor to be counted in.

The document caused quite a furor among NDP leaders. When Ed Broadbent took issue with it, he did not do so on grounds intimidated by the subsequent OFL manifesto—that the CLC proposals represented a form of class collaboration that could only limit labor. Broadbent, along with the sanctimonious business community, fretted that tripartism would undermine the legitimacy of parliament. Some people, noticing Broadbent's lack of concern for workers' control in this so-called democracy, came to suspect the real priorities behind the NDP leadership's commitment to parliament. Perhaps a distinction should be drawn between loyalty to parliament and to democracy.

The discussion went on to another level this January when David Lewis debated Toronto's internationally renowned Marxist political theoretician C.B. Macpherson. Macpherson is a supporter of direct or participatory democracy, a system of mass involvement which he feels is incompatible with capitalism. Before the extended franchise gave the vote to workingmen, he explained, there was "direct participatory undemocracy" practiced by the ruling class politicians who divied up spoils in a most collaborative way. Once work-

ers were enfranchised, this participation in public plunder had to be subordinated to the legislature's new function of confusing and blurring the real issues for the broadened electorate. Parliament had to try to mediate between classes. The system was designed to mask inequality and maintain the population as passive consumers of political decisions. Since then, the institutions and mechanisms of parliament have even been successful in thwarting pro-labor governments, Macpherson added.

Now he feels, with the rising working class movement and increased questioning of capitalist values, the possibilities of socialism and direct democracy are "within the realm of the possible."

Lewis was more pessimistic. He went so far as to suggest that apathy is a "natural" human state, not the reaction of an alienated population which senses only its powerlessness. This, we might suppose, creates the objective basis for NDP leaders like himself. The work of liberating the working class, Lewis implied, will not be the task of the working class alone but of social democratic deputies who will "serve" it and mediate its difficulties with capital.

Lewis also contested Macpherson's claim that workers were becoming aware of the shortcomings of capitalism, the integrity of whose contradictions have ostensibly been lessened by social welfare. In somewhat of a volte-face, he concluded that the only solution lay in adult education, not by words but through struggle.

→ p. 2

6 FORWARD, Mid-February, 1977

p.2

Dimension opens debate on NDP

Canadian Dimension, the widest circulating journal of the Canadian left, has opened up a debate on labor reformism in Canada. "Whether we like it or not, most politically conscious workers remain loyal to the NDP," their November 1976 issue recognizes. At the same time they affirm "that from both practice and theory social democracy does not and cannot lead to the destruction of capitalism and the transformation toward a socialist or communist society." Although a good deal of Dimension's coverage over the past few years has been designed to illustrate this last point, the editors at long last concede that "this understanding does not by itself yield an immediate strategy for building a socialist movement."

The debate is opened in Tony Carew's review of Leo Panitch's new book, *Social Democracy and Industrial Militancy*. Although Carew agrees with many of Panitch's criticisms of the British Labor Party's betrayal of the workers, he does not believe that the current misleadership is "in such a position that it can never be dislodged. Entrenched

labor bureaucracies can and must be challenged in their own ground and it simply will not do to complain that the cards are stacked against us," says Carew. He believes that more democratic structures within the Labor Party could lay the foundation for a truly working class leadership.

Carew also takes issue with early revolutionary socialists and the emerging Communist Party of the 1920's for being "sidetracked into the Leninist backwaters....onto the wrong side of the artificial divide in the labor movement created by the formation of the Third International" under Lenin and Trotsky. His condemnation equates the attempt to build a separate revolutionary organization with sectarianism on the Labor Party question.

Panitch's reply highlights the entrenched nature of the Labor Party's reformism. Even the Labor Party left suffers from "total acceptance of Parliament." It is not prone, therefore, to initiate extraparlimentary action or to understand the difference between coming to government as distinct from state power. For Panitch, the reformism of the Labor Party is not an accident of leadership but deeply permeates its origins and development. Party democracy cannot mechanically transform that reality without major institutional changes in the Labor Party. Panitch finds this option improbable.

Although Panitch scores Carew's view that the attempt to construct a revolutionary party is both illusory and sidetracking, Panitch does not advocate an immediate split from the Labor Party. The difficult work of preparing for such a split has not been completed, he argues. He then asks a series of practical questions, many of which cannot be empirically answered by Canada's as yet shallow experience. Can extraparlimentary activity be organized within the NDP? Can this work be done without an organized faction? How do Marxists outside the NDP form links with the working class?

Although the debate in its present

format is neither rounded or balanced, left-wingers in the NDP can only welcome the new openness of Dimension on this question. Many of Panitch's points are well reasoned. Consuming efforts to build an electoral machine along with concepts of one-step-at-a-time reform permeate the NDP and are not just a chance characteristic of the leadership. The rich experience of the British Labor Party's various left wings illustrates the improbability of transforming the Labor Party into a truly socialist party.

But this merely states a point of general historical principle. The question of strategy remains, how are presently isolated revolutionary socialists to gain an experience with their class and challenge their misleaders? In political, as in economic struggles, they must join in the organizations of their class.

This is not based on an illusion of "taking over" the party or "boring from within", as is often charged. It is in the labor party that the cadre and program of a movement are tested, where links can be made with the most advanced politically conscious workers.

Speculations as to expulsions of the left or ruptures from the left are not the stuff of which a revolutionary movement is built. Such speculations rest on a sense of timing and tactics which ridiculously overestimate our capacity to control the objective or subjective situation. Revolutionaries must proceed from facts: first, that it is necessary to build some form of organization to exchange experiences, develop understanding and expand a totality of views; and second, to be relevant to our class we participate in its organizations as the focus of our politics.

If, as Panitch's questions suggest, the matter of socialists' relations with the NDP is being posed in some practical framework, with an appreciation of social dynamics and not just mechanical proclamations, the Dimension debate can raise the level of one of the most important debates within the left.

Cubatours

The NDP and trade union movement have organized special charter flights to Cuba. The excursions last one week and depart from Toronto on February 18, 25 and March 11. The project has been endorsed by leading NDPers and unionists.

After David Lewis visited Cuba in 1975, he wrote a series of articles for the Toronto Star. Lewis concluded from his tour that Cuba "is rid of foreign and domestic exploitation; the life of the people has been vastly improved...; free education, free medical care and increased work and opportunity have created a much better society than the Cubans had known before the revolution".

For information on the tour, call 868-1068 in Toronto or 674-4551 in Sudbury.

→ p.3

23

Lewis slam of Ziemba gives green light for Tory offence

forward.
#25

Stephen Lewis' repudiation of NDP MPP Ed Ziemba has given the green light to an all-out Tory and business offensive against Ziemba and his colleague on the provincial Public Accounts Committee, Bud Germa.

Taking up the government chatter about the need for careful accounting of government expenditures, their code-word for cutbacks, Ziemba and Germa used their position in the Public Accounts Committee to investigate skyrocketing medical bills. Confronting an obstinate medical profession, which hides behind the confidential doctor-client relationship to maintain its total and uncontrolled monopoly of the medical business and refuses to open its billings against the public till to investigation, Ziemba released the names of doctors with billings over \$100,000 to the press.

The medical "profession" reacted immediately to this invasion of its "privacy" with an indignation envied by thieves who also like to conduct robbery in private. Government officials, who are notorious for forcible supervision of the lives of welfare and public housing recipients, leaped to the defence of government secrecy.

Stephen Lewis grovelled before them and demanded Ziemba's apology and resignation from the committee. He was reportedly "heartsick" over the damage done to medical reputations and promised "it will never happen again. It was the last straw for me". He was not as heartsick as Premier Davis, who used \$9,000 of government stationery to apologize to the province's doctors in an undisguised bid for their votes.

Lewis' capitulation to the codes of parliamentary and medical secrecy removed the major obstacle to a Tory and business game-plan to turn the victims into the criminals. Ziemba has since been threatened with continuing eight-day jail sentences if he will not betray the confidentiality of the laboratory worker who leaked information on the fraudulent activities of Abko Medical Laboratory. Imagine how the tables have been turned! A lab facing charges of fraud is able to send the man responsible for their uncovering to jail! An MPP who was shamed for violating parliamentary secrecy is ordered to betray the privacy of a worker who would face certain reprisal from his boss!

Meanwhile, the Tories are power-playing at the behest of nervous Premier Davis to have NDP MPP Germa removed from the chairmanship of the Public Accounts Committee. "It's probably a political ploy of theirs to deflect the heat away from the issues that the committee is discussing", Germa claims. Conser-

vative members of the committee are acting in concert with medical authorities who refuse to hand over key information to the committee. "We're a little gun-shy after the *Globe and Mail* list", the medical leaders apologize. Faced with Germa's resolve to get that information through a parliamentary summons, the Tories are charging him with wholesale invasion of privacy. "It's making me ill", claims Tory MPP Grossman. "You're goddammed right we're going to block it".

Ziemba and Germa, whose efforts are doubtless widely supported in the population, are beginning to receive support within the party. Moves are developing to have Ziemba vindicated at the forthcoming Provincial Council meeting. The motion was defeated at a London riding association only after the insistent intervention of MPP Mel Swart. The mass-based Dovercourt and Spadina riding associations have passed a motion favoring Ziemba. These actions should be followed by riding associations across the province.



"I've worked rubber cheques, bogus bills and the ol' shell game, but this Medicare caper's a new one on me, Doc...."

NDP, Native leaders attack beads & blanket settlement

The controversial James Bay settlement with Native peoples of northern Quebec is coming up before the federal House of Commons where hearings and debates are expected to continue until spring. Native and Inuit spokesmen are taking this last opportunity to oppose this twentieth century version of beads and blankets trading from government and business representatives.

It will be recalled that native organizations in Quebec had a settlement virtually forced on them by construction of the James Bay Project, the multi-billion dollar project which funnels energy from Quebec to New York. When the notorious Quebec Court of Appeals overruled the native injunction against further construction, native organizations "negotiated" a settlement which extinguished forever their rights to 400,000 square miles in return for \$225 million.

Native opposition to the terms of the treaty has been mounting. Several Native and Inuit groups in the area have been left out of the terms of settlement. In typical "divide and conquer" fashion, the government dealt directly only with the Crees, whose Chief Billy Diamond considers the treaty fair.

Native groups across the country are concerned about the precedent that has been set. "As far as Indians in the rest of Canada are concerned, it's a bad deal", says Lloyd Tataryn, researcher for the National Indian Brotherhood. "Aboriginal rights can't be bought and sold. What Indians in the rest of Canada are worried about is that this will be used as a precedent".

NDP MP for the Northwest Territories Wally Firth has also opposed the bill. Pointing to the chiselling rates of purchase, which he estimates at \$1,000 per person per year, he takes issue with those natives who condone the treaty. "It may be a bargain to these people, but I do not happen to agree with them in that respect. I think the price is too high".

A partisan of the Dene declaration of nationhood last year, Firth wants the section extinguishing native claims completely removed from the bill. "This clause goes against the wishes of many people who are involved in the cause of fighting, working and struggling for the acceptance of the fact that the native people of this country have their basic aboriginal rights, and many of us believe that these rights should be enshrined in the BNA Act...

By Harry Paine

After two years of delay and at a cost to the taxpayers of \$680,000 the Badgley Report has finally been tabled before the Commons.

The Committee on the Operation of the Abortion Laws, set up by the infamous Otto Lang as a last act before being fired as Justice Minister, was one of the crumbs thrown to women during International Women's Year. It was further designed to take the heat off the government when it failed to stop the persecution of Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

The frame of reference for the Committee was purely investigative and not directly to make recommendations. Its purpose was to determine whether or not the present law (Section 251 of the Criminal Code of Canada) was equitable in its application across the country.

Given this limited framework it seemed clear right from the start that the purpose of this committee was to facilitate a snow job by the federal government and to provide it with further excuses to do nothing about repealing the law from the criminal code. As one of the few countries in the world that considers abortion a criminal offence, Canada ranks with the most backward banana republics of South America.

The Badgley Report reaffirmed what has been documented before by Doctors for Repeal of the Abortion Law in a similar study published over a year ago. Nevertheless we now have a comprehensive report by an official government committee.

Following the tabling of the report, Ron Basford, the present Justice Minister, assured a news conference that no changes in the abortion law would be proposed by the federal government. He emphasized that the committee addressed itself only to the shortcomings and inequalities of the law and not to the law itself.

In an editorial February 11, the Toronto *Star* said that it was clear from the report that the hospital review committees should be abolished and the decision on abortion be left up to a woman and her doctor. It made a telling point when it cited the report's own statistics to show that "many hospitals do not have review committees and even of those that do, many—21 in Ontario—don't approve any abortions at all".

The most devastating indictment of the law is that in 1974, according to the report, the rate of complications in abortions in Canada was 3.1%. This compares unfavourably with the recognized international average of 0.5% and Dr. Morgentaler's average of 0.1%. This means that for Canadian women seeking pregnancy termination, there is from six to ten times greater chance of complication. This is directly attributable to the delay which a woman has to go through before the

8 FORWARD, Mid-February, 1977

forward
#25 Feb 1977

Report accidentally affirms inequality on abortion right

actual medical procedure can take place.

It is therefore understandable that 20% of women in need of abortions are forced to go to the US and save themselves the hassles they encounter in their own home areas.

The Badgley Report leaves the door open for Ottawa to pass the buck to the provinces, which is precisely what Basford is doing. As long as the law endangers women, doctors and hospitals with the possibility of criminal prosecution, the provincial Health Ministers have an out. What is more, there is no indication that abortion procedures are more accessible in the Yukon or the Northwest Territories where Basford and the Ottawa government are the administrators and bear direct responsibility for implementing the law.

Hospitals are public institutions financed with public funds and

should be required to have abortion procedures available for all those who need them. Repealing the law from the criminal code would allow clinics to be established where they are needed and would take the pressure off the hospitals.

The Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Law (CARAL) does not consider the Badgley Report as a victory. It is, however, a vindication of CARAL's aim of abortion law repeal and CARAL does not intend to be diverted from this as its main direction. Gearing up to continue to fight, CARAL is holding a National Conference and Lobby in Ottawa starting February 27. All those interested in participating in the Lobby and working for repeal of the abortion laws which have now been clearly shown to be applied unequally should write CARAL, Box 527, Station Z, Toronto.

Damien rally celebrates Year II of rights struggle

By Randy Notte

Over 150 people gathered at the University of Toronto (U. of T.) on February 5, to demonstrate their solidarity with John Damien, a former racing official fired by the Ontario government for his homosexuality. The rally was called to mark the second anniversary of Damien's dismissal and to gain support for his coming court case. Participating at the speaker's platform were Margaret Campbell, MPP for the riding of St. George, Lukin Robinson of the NDP, David Garmaise of the National Gay Rights Coalition, Bob Powers from CUPE local 1230, Harry Kopyto and Paul Jewell, Damien's lawyers, and Damien himself.

As well, greetings were received from Gregory Baum, a theologian at U. of T., The Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Law Union of Ontario, The Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario, and the Socialist League.

The overriding theme of the rally was that John Damien's firing represented not just an issue of gay civil rights but also one of whether working people, regardless of their sexual inclinations and orientations,

can receive fair treatment in employment without prejudicial interference by the state. The speakers reiterated the point that workers should not have to worry about what they do after hours. If the government is truly concerned about staying out of the bedrooms of the nation then it will see to it that John Damien is re-instated in his position with the Ontario Racing Commission. Otherwise, they said, the erosion of everyday rights we take for granted can be extended to any person or group.

Two days after the rally, and as an added indication of the support for John Damien, noted novelist Christopher Isherwood spoke to an audience in Toronto at a benefit for Damien.

Both rallies are part of an extensive campaign conducted by the Committee to Defend John Damien. As his case moves closer to trial, Damien has already spoken to audiences in Winnipeg, Kingston, Toronto, Peterborough, Hamilton and Mississauga. To date, the committee has received over \$20,000 in donations and the case has received extensive coverage by radio, television, and the newspapers.

Forward Forum series analyses

Stormy pages in Canada's story

By Paul Kellogg

There's a story we are told sitting in Canadian history class in grade 7. The story is that while the Americans have always been a violent people, prone to gunslinging, boxing, revolutions and the like, Canadians are much more gentle and peace-loving. Our history, therefore, is one of evolution rather than revolution. They say it has something to do with having a queen.

It's a dull story and it certainly isn't history. In fact, the Canadian people have a long history of struggle, often militant, against the state and its agents. It's history you won't learn about in school textbooks. You will, on the other hand, get the real picture Friday nights at the Forward Forum.

Starting January 14, the Forward Forum presented a four-part class series entitled "Great Struggles in Canadian History".

The first class dealt with the 1837 rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada. The speaker, Harry Kopyto, characterized the rebellions as a struggle for democratic government.

Ross Dowson, speaker at the next class, examined the Red River and North West rebellions of the late nineteenth century, rebellions commonly identified as simply the two "Riel rebellions".

These events, Dowson said, represented the Canadian equivalent to the "taming of the west", the consolidation of Canadian capitalism on a continent-wide scale.

For the Red River rebellion, Dowson drew much of his material from a recent book by Harold Adams, **Prison of Grass** (available from Forward books). The book objects to characterizing the 1869 events as a rebellion. In that year, the Hudson Bay Company sold its claim to land in what is now Manitoba.

In the power vacuum created by the withdrawal of HBC—which had effectively ruled the area for years—the Metis themselves began to govern the area using Metis popular councils.

"The Metis didn't rebel," said Dowson, "they simply stood up and said 'we are the government'".

The final two classes dealt with the emergence of the Canadian working class onto the Canadian historical arena. In the first, Paul Kellogg dealt with the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

For 41 days in 1919, the third largest city in Canada went out on strike, man, woman and child. At the

height of the strike, over 35,000 workers (out of a total population of 170,000) were on strike.

For those 41 days, City Council did not run the city. A committee composed of the executive of the Trades and Labor Council, five members from the Council and three delegates from each of the 95 unions—the working people, they ran the city.

The immediate reason for the strike was the demand by the Winnipeg building and metal trades workers for the right to bargain collectively.

But in the course of the strike, the Strike Committee was forced to institute an embryonic form of workers' control of the city. Capitalist rule had broken down completely, and in the vacuum, the working class had to move in and govern. Taken to its logical conclusion, workers self-government of this sort puts socialism on the order of the day.

In the final class, Ross Dowson examined the wave of strikes that swept across Canada after the second world war. Dowson pointed out that they were much more significant than just a series of strikes. They were the first test in fire of the modern trade union movement.

In general, before 1939, the labor movement in Canada was very weak. Craft unions dominated the union movement, with very few industries organized in industrial unions.

But between 1939 and 1945, as Canada retooled its economy to meet the needs of the Allied war machine, the number of unionized workers in Canada doubled, from 350,000 to 700,000. This represented a qualitative change in the Canadian union movement.

This unionization occurred in a time of class collaboration, where the trade union leadership put up no opposition to Canada's involvement in the war, where in fact they officially "shelved" the class struggle "for the duration".

Thus, after the war, while workers' wages had not kept pace with the rising cost of living, on the other hand, the bosses didn't take the new industrial unions seriously. They figured the new union movement was a pushover, rotten through and through with class collaboration.

Starting with the auto-workers strike in Windsor in September 1945, the union movement entered a year-



Mass picket line solidarity with striking Hamilton Stelco workers beat back the post-war boss and government assault. The critical Big Steel victory turned the tide for victory for labor's cross-Canada struggle.

long test of fire as it struggled for the legitimate demands of the working class against bosses who refused to negotiate and who were aided and abetted by the Liberal government of Mackenzie King. Highlights of the strike, whose story has yet to be the subject of any serious historical investigation, were the barricades on the streets of Windsor, the nation-wide support for a one-day general sympathetic strike should the cops intervene in the Windsor auto strikes, and a 10,000 mass picket outside the Stelco plant in Hamilton preventing police intervention from breaking the steel-

workers picket line.

The strikes helped forge unity in the labor movement, culminating in 1956 with the formation of the Canadian Labor Congress.

The strikes also had a key role in shaping the CCF into a labor party. Until then, the CCF had been primarily an agrarian populist movement. The federal elections of 1948 showed that it had established itself in the industrial working-class centres of the East, in the centres of the 1946 strike wave.

If there was one over-riding theme of the class series, it was the great lack of a cohesive, written Canadian history. For years, we were fed a diet of British-only history. Today we have US-inspired textbooks thrown at us in history class. The development of a truly Canadian historical tradition is only beginning, and it is a pressing and fundamental task in the development of a truly Canadian socialist movement.

Forward Forums are held every Friday night at 53 Gerrard Street West, Toronto. For information on future series, or to be on our mailing list, call 595-1284.



News item: tuition up \$100.

Alice Klein, for president of CYSF

The United Left Slate (ULS) is running in the CYSF elections to be held March 9 and 10. Our presidential candidate is Alice Klein and our Board of Governors candidate is Harvey Pinder.

The ULS is not a hard line party. We are a loose coalition of members of the NDP, York student activists, socialist groups, and independent leftists who endorse the program we put forward at times such as this election campaign. For the past six years we have operated as a democratic collective through open discussion to decide upon a common program.

The need for a united left at York arises from the austerity programs of the federal Liberal government and the provincial Conservative government. Their austerity measures constitute a crisis for post-secondary education in Ontario.

The crisis is evident in the 100 dollar-tuition increase, the terrible summer employment scene, the tightening of student aid, the crowded classrooms, the lack of adequate library and other services, the low quality food served here, the lack of university funded daycare, and the skyrocketing rents both on and off campus.

Can the austerity program of cutbacks be successfully fought? We think so. For instance, the protest last year about the closing of hospitals in Ontario led to some reversals of the government's stand. And the Ontario Federation of Student's (OFS) campaign against tuition hikes in 1972 gave us a five year respite from that form of attack

on accessibility. We reject the despairing "do-nothing" philosophies of our opponents. City Hall (and Queen's Park) can be fought.

But what about the argument that society can't afford all the social services it once used to give us. If you believe that corporate profits should provide less and less of the total tax revenue, as has been the trend over the last few decades, (meaning more and more of the tax burden falls on working people), then that argument may hold water.

However, we don't think the rights of profit should take precedence over the needs of ordinary people. Nor do we think wasteful government expenditures such as the billions of dollars in our military budget, or bread and circus productions such as Mirabel Airport and the Olympics, should take precedence over social services.

We say tax corporate profits to pay for education; no cuts in social service expenditures. Education is a right.

The United Left Slate seeks to make the Council of the York Student Federation (CYSF) a focal point of student leadership and mobilization. It should be a union to defend our interests as students within the university and society as a whole.

To further this basic aim we seek to work within the larger unions of students, OFS and NUS, to ensure they become the adequate voice and leadership Canadian students' need.

Advocating withdrawal from OFS and NUS is giving up the fight for student rights. The ULS supports continued York participation in OFS

March 9 & 10,

vote United Left Slate

for a student union that works in OFS & NUS

- against tuition fee hikes
- against cutbacks in student aid
- for women's rights

(Found in 1977)



Alice Klein

• Alice Klein is currently doing graduate work in the history department at York. She completed her honours degree in history at U of T. Last year, she was the executive

assistant of CYSF and is presently one of the graduate representatives on CYSF. She is also a member of the Graduate Assistant's Association (GAA).

• Klein is a member of the NDP

and NUS.

We seek to transform York into a democratic university where the students, the teachers, and the workers who make York go are the ones who make the decisions. Our Board of Governors campaign explains how we can move towards this democratic goal.

We engage in the struggle for women's rights at York because all the gains made by women in our society are being threatened.

We are the United Left Slate and we want not only your vote but your participation. Our campaign meetings are held every weekday at 4:00 p.m. in the clubs room, 124 Central Square (beside the TD bank). Come and join us.

On March 9 and 10 vote Alice Klein (ULS) for CYSF president, Harvey Pinder (ULS) for the Board of Governors, and for the ULS candidates in your college.

A student union, not a political playpen

CYSF: a voice for students

We see the CYSF as an organization that represents York students in daily affairs both on and off campus, not an organization that serves as a stepping stone for the political careers of CYSF members.

We believe the CYSF should not replace students, but serve as an on-going representative and organizer of them. CYSF must involve the student body in all major decisions, and keep them informed of all issues

concerning them as members of the university and the global community.

In this period of cutbacks, tuition fee increases, and a general decline in the quality of education, it is obvious that York students need a strong campus-wide political CYSF to defend their investments. However, without student involvement, CYSF is a weak body.

In order to organize and interest students, the CYSF must become a tangible part of campus life rather than an isolated body, with as little contact with students as the York administration.

CYSF must be democratized with more emphasis on mass meetings, referenda and opinion polls.

To be an effective and meaningful student council, CYSF meetings must be held on at least a bi-weekly basis in a location and at a time when most students can attend.

The last three CYSF meetings of Edson's and Hayden's council have failed to come off because of lack of quorum. The CYSF botched the 'calling of the Board of Governors election so badly in the fall that it had to be postponed.

This is an example of the type of leadership we would not provide.

The ULS has often been accused of being unconcerned with the social life of York students. Many opportunistic student politicians have attempted to use their alleged prowess in organizing social activities to justify their do-nothing administrations. That was the Edson Team's big calling card last year.

Actually, the most significant step forward towards creating a well-planned, exciting and entertaining social life at York was the establishment of the York Social

Co-op by the ULS led council two years ago.

We provided the leadership in establishing the co-op and getting it off the ground. Both Drote and Hayden are using it in their election program, but neither of them mention that it was the United Left Slate that organized it originally.

If elected this year, we would continue the work we began two years ago, pushing the still reluctant college councils to contribute money to a central pool of funds with which to finance top quality dances and concerts throughout the year.

In short, there are two functions we see the CYSF fulfilling. CYSF, with its budget of around \$90,000 provides essential student services, such as Excalibur, Radio York, Harbinger, the Social Co-op etc. with the necessary funds to function. By our initiation of the York Social Co-op, we have shown ourselves in the past to be at least as good as the self-proclaimed social-life experts in providing these services.

However, a CYSF that only provides funds for students' services is inadequate. Unlike our opposition, we believe the CYSF must provide leadership in articulating the concerns of York students to the administration and within OFS and NUS must provide political leadership for students both within and without the university.

Join the campaign.

Meet the ULS'ers, any weekday, 4 p.m., in the clubs room, 124 Central Square (667-3532)

This paper brought to you by the United Left Slate

Graduate Studies

- Phil Hebert
• Philosophy Department major
Denise Thibeault
• Political Science major
• active member of NDP
Able Weisfeld
• Canadian Political Science major
• member NDP and Socialist League

McLaughlin

- Anthony Astaphan
• 2nd year Political Science student
• York soccer team

Stong

- Ian Kellogg
• 2nd year Philosophy major
• Excalibur staff writer
• member of NDP
Farouk Mookadam
• President Muslim Students' Federation
• 2nd year Biology major

Vanier

- Jane Chisholm -
• 3rd year History major
• York Day-Care Co-op member
• member NDP

Cheryl Pruitt

- 2nd year Anthropology student
• member of Young Socialists

Winters

- Pam Fitzgerald
• 2nd year Philosophy & History of Science student
• Harbinger volunteer

William Pipher

- second-year Political Science student



Calumet

- Frank Lento
• Social & Political Thought student
• member of NDP
Mary Marrone
• 2nd year Social & Political Thought student
• member of 1976/77 CYSF
• member of NDP

Founders

- Zachary Koukounaris
• member, Hellenic Students' Association
Aldo D'Alfonso
• 2nd year Physical Education student
• York soccer team

Alice Klein, for president of CYSF

The United Left Slate (ULS) is running in the CYSF elections to be held March 9 and 10. Our presidential candidate is Alice Klein and our Board of Governors candidate is Harvey Pinder.

The ULS is not a hard line party. We are a loose coalition of members of the NDP, York student activists, socialist groups, and independent leftists who endorse the program we put forward at times such as this election campaign. For the past six years we have operated as a democratic collective through open discussion to decide upon a common program.

The need for a united left at York arises from the austerity programs of the federal Liberal government and the provincial Conservative government. Their austerity measures constitute a crisis for post-secondary education in Ontario.

The crisis is evident in the 100 dollar tuition increase, the terrible summer employment scene, the tightening of student aid, the crowded classrooms, the lack of adequate library and other services, the low quality food served here, the lack of university funded daycare, and the skyrocketing rents both on and off campus.

Can the austerity program of cutbacks be successfully fought? We think so. For instance, the protest last year about the closing of hospitals in Ontario led to some reversals of the government's stand. And the Ontario Federation of Student's (OFS) campaign against tuition hikes in 1972 gave us a five year respite from that form of attack

on accessibility. We reject the despairing "do-nothing" philosophies of our opponents. City Hall (and Queen's Park) can be fought.

But what about the argument that society can't afford all the social services it once used to give us. If you believe that corporate profits should provide less and less of the total tax revenue, as has been the trend over the last few decades, (meaning more and more of the tax burden falls on working people), then that argument may hold water.

However, we don't think the rights of profit should take precedence over the needs of ordinary people. Nor do we think wasteful government expenditures such as the billions of dollars in our military budget, or bread and circus productions such as Mirabel Airport and the Olympics, should take precedence over social services.

We say tax corporate profits to pay for education; no cuts in social service expenditures. Education is a right.

The United Left Slate seeks to make the Council of the York Student Federation (CYSF) a focal point of student leadership and mobilization. It should be a union to defend our interests as students within the university and society as a whole.

To further this basic aim we seek to work within the larger unions of students, OFS and NUS, to ensure they become the adequate voice and leadership Canadian students' need.

Advocating withdrawal from OFS and NUS is giving up the fight for student rights. The ULS supports continued York participation in OFS

and NUS.

We seek to transform York into a democratic university where the students, the teachers, and the workers who make York go are the ones who make the decisions. Our Board of Governors campaign explains how we can move towards this democratic goal.

We engage in the struggle for women's rights at York because all the gains made by women in our society are being threatened.

We are the United Left Slate and we want not only your vote but your participation. Our campaign meetings are held every weekday at 4:00 p.m. in the clubs room, 124 Central Square (beside the TD bank). Come and join us.

On March 9 and 10 vote Alice Klein (ULS) for CYSF president, Harvey Pinder (ULS) for the Board of Governors, and for the ULS candidates in your college.



Summer of '77 "Young Canada is looking for work"

Bearing the burden of increasing tuition fees, rising cost of living, and decreases in student grants is made even more difficult by the worsening summer employment prospects students face.

There are no official figures for student unemployment last summer (the federal government discontinued keeping records of students out of work). However, by every indicator, it was at least as bad as the summer before, when student unemployment stood at 12.5 per cent.

Of the ones employed, many of us have first hand experience of the poor wages and poor working conditions we can expect to find trying to raise money for next year's education.

Unemployment also hits us after graduation. Canada makes no official count of unemployment — or underemployment of each year's graduating class, but Statistics Canada, in its midyear labor force survey, found an unemployment rate of 10.2 per cent for labor force members in the 20 to 24 age category, in which most graduates fall.

Recent exposés of Canada Manpower's official statistics of unem-

ployment in Canada show that total unemployment is actually 11 per cent of the Canadian work force rather than the official version of 7.1 per cent. It is probable, therefore, that the unemployment rate for 20 to 24 year olds is even higher than the already intolerable 10.2%.

This crisis is felt acutely by highly-specialized and expensively trained graduate students, who can't even look to employment in the university milieu. Since few universities in Ontario have a policy of preferential hiring of Canadian graduates, we are witnessing what one observer called, a "lost generation" of Canadian scholars.

Part of the necessary work done through the OFS and NUS is pressuring the government to provide improved summer job opportunities for students. In this area too, the government has been gradually cutting back, doing away with Opportunities for Youth program two years ago, replacing it with the somewhat tokenistic Young Canada Works Program.

Perhaps we should suggest they change the name to, Young Canada is looking for work.



Students' tuition up \$100, corporate tax share drops

Thursday, November 27, Ontario minister of colleges and universities Harry Parrott, announced a \$100 increase in tuition fees for university students to commence this September.

A few months previously, Parrott had announced a 200% increase in tuition fees for foreign visa students. It now seems clear that particular increase was just the government testing the water, trying to make students accept one fee increase in order to implement a general one later on. The old tactic of "divide and rule".

This \$100 increase is the tip of an iceberg known as the "McKeough-Henderson Report". If fully implemented, the report, like any good iceberg, would freeze out thousands of students presently studying in Ontario's post-secondary institutions, from any future post-secondary education plans.

The McKeough-Henderson Report recommended that university students pay enough tuition to cover 25% of the operating costs of universities. Excluding inflation, which would make the figure even higher, that would mean average university tuition fees of \$1090, that's not the \$100, 16.6% increase announced by Parrott in November, but a \$490, 81% increase!

The government has not backed down from the McKeough-Henderson Report's recommendations. The report recommended that the \$490 increase be spread over a three to four year period. Parrott's \$100 increase puts the Conservatives dead on target to complete the increases by academic year 1980-81, unless forced to back down by opposition from students.

It's clear the government is planning that autumn announcements of tuition fee increases become an annual event, coming with the regularity of the Grey Cup.

However, Parrott did suggest that accessibility to university would not be affected by the fee increase since poorer students would be taken care of in the Ontario Student Assistance Program. Here as in everything, we should judge the government by their deeds, not their words.

The truth is, OSAP is becoming more restrictive, not less. The loan ceiling was raised last year from \$800 to \$1,000. That means many students after completing a four-year honours program, will find themselves \$4,000 in debt.

That could easily become a \$10,000 debt according to the recommendations just released February 20 in a quasi-government report initiated by the Queen's Park administration.

If implemented the report would eliminate grants for students if they or their parents made more than \$11,000 a year. That is, it would eliminate grants for the majority of university students.

The all-loan system to replace it, would no longer be interest free as now. Interest would accumulate on the loan, calculated according to the rate of interest payable on the latest issue of Canada Savings Bonds (currently 8½ per cent).

The proposed tuition fee hikes and the cutbacks in student aid paint a bleak picture for the post-secondary future of Ontario students. Already, few students from lower and working class backgrounds can afford the cost of attending university. Should the government be allowed to continue on its present cutbacks course, then the uni-

versities would regress to their sixties state, an ivory-tower preserve for the rich and the super rich.

Parrott suggested that there is no other choice in meeting the budgetary crisis of post-secondary education, than to raise tuition fees.

The ULS says there is a choice. In 1962, the corporate share of income tax stood at 60 per cent, taxes from working people accounting for 40. Today, working people's taxes account for almost 80 per cent of the income tax revenue of the provincial government, corporations getting away with just over 20 per cent.

This trend must be reversed. A tax should be levied on corporation profits to pay for post-secondary education.

The ULS proceeds from the conviction that, in a society as wealthy as ours, education should be a right, not a privilege. York students need a CYSF that will provide leadership in seeing that everything possible be done to keep the Conservative government in Queen's Park from making education forever a privilege of the wealthy few in society.

We must work within OFS and NUS to find ways of preventing further fee hikes, working for an all-grant student aid system, and working towards the ultimate goal of a university education open and available to all, regardless of their financial abilities.

As well as elections to the Council of York Student Federation (CYSF) March 9 and 10, students will also be faced with a referendum on whether to continue our membership in the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) and the National Union of Students (NUS).

The United Left Slate is firmly in favor of continued participation in these provincial and national student unions.

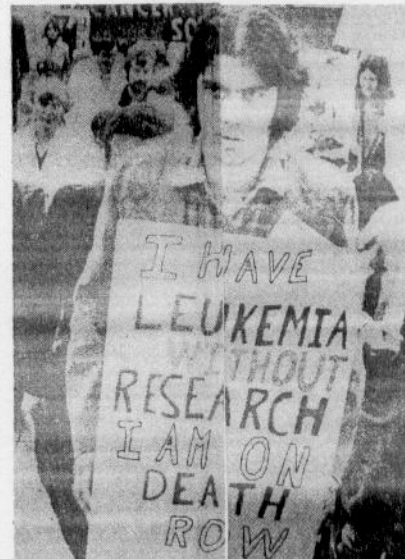
The reasons we need such organizations can be best illustrated by the role OFS played during the last tuition fee increase.

In 1971 OFS was just being born, here at York and at campuses across the province. And in 1971 the provincial Conservative government of Bill Davis was raising tuition fees.

Student opposition to the increase was widespread. It was at that time the first squeeze of the 70's austerity program was being felt. OFS, with the willing and creative assistance of local student unions, was able to channel this opposition into an effective protest campaign that included fee strikes and high profile demonstrations. It has taken five years before they've dared institute a second fee increase.

This development hasn't kept the Tory government from implementing their program of austerity entirely. But they have been forced to stick to the road of "backdoor" tuition hikes: cutbacks in university funding causing a decline in the quality of university education.

The decline in the quality of education is an ever present reality for us at York. Since 1972 York's faculty has not been increased while student enrolment has increased 25-30%. All expansion plans for York have been shelved; library staff is down, leading to more book losses and fewer replacements; the price of residence accommodation has skyrocketed while the quality of building maintenance and the quality of the food has continued to decline.



Research cutbacks kill.

Vote yes to OFS/NUS

The list goes on and on.

And yet, after five years that saw the cost of attending university increase enormously through these "backdoor" tuition increases and the rising cost of living, the Conservatives think we should now pay another 100 dollars for the "privilege" of attending university.

During these five years, OFS has engaged in ongoing research, coming to grips with the financial crunch facing post-secondary education and attempting to formulate alternatives different from the government's cutback approach.

They have done extensive lobbying with the government, presenting the students' case on a wide-range of issues, and seeing that our side of the story as well as the government's gets into the press. NUS has consolidated itself to do the same work on a nation-wide scale.

We would be the last to say that the record of the two organizations has been perfect. They have made many mistakes in the past and will probably make more in the future. But the way to keep them from making mistakes is not to withdraw from them, a move which would seriously jeopardize their continued existence.

We must work within them to see that they perform their functions as well as possible. It is also clear that they are indispensable if we are to have a voice, as students, across the province and across the nation.

It was just last year that York students voted almost two to one to increase their activity fee by one dollar to pay higher NUS fees, and it was just over two years ago that York students voted overwhelmingly to raise their activity fees \$1.50 to pay higher OFS fees.

Since the referendum last year, tuition fees for foreign visa students have gone up 200%. All other tuition fees have gone up \$100. A just released quasi-government report recommends the elimination of

grants for most students, and eliminating all interest-free loans. At the same time, the federal government is cutting its support to the universities and students across the country face the worst summer job prospects ever.

So why is the Edson and Hayden Council now calling on us to pull out of OFS and NUS? They turn their backs on the past effective lobbying these two unions have done, and they shirk their responsibilities as York's student representatives to work within these democratic unions to establish an effective plan of action against the cutbacks.

It seems rather obvious that only province-wide and nation-wide organizations will be adequate to deal with province-wide and nation-wide issues of pressing concern to students.

Therefore, the ULS calls for a "YES" vote for OFS and NUS.

A ULS-led CYSF next year with Alice Klein as president, is committed to working within OFS and NUS to help organize Canada's students to find ways to prevent the growing decline in the quality and accessibility of education.



"Cutbacks anyone?"

For further information about the ULS, come to our campaign meetings, daily at 4 p.m. in the clubs room, 124 Central Square (667-3532).

or write:
ULS, c/o CYSF, York University, 4700 Keele St., Downsview, Ont.

Vol. 3, no. 2, ULS election program.

Typeset by union labour.

Cuts hit women hard despite 2-yr old study

Two years ago the Task Force on the Status of Women at York presented their report. The recommendation then was for action — "generally the situation of women in the universities has been thoroughly investigated and (that) the time for study is over."

Rather than the "corrective action" hoped for by the authors of the report, no improvements in the situation of women have been registered. We haven't even followed

Atkinson's lead in implementing preferential hiring of women. Rather, with cutbacks the new credo of university policy, existing services to women are being threatened.

The availability of childcare facilities, basic to student and working parents at the university, is under increasing attack. Those who will suffer most are students.

Over a year ago, Metro froze the number of subsidies they would make available to parents who

couldn't pay the full cost of Daycare. Parents of any new children will have to pay the entire fee unless one of the already subsidized children leaves the Centre. Moreover, since the amount of the subsidy was frozen at a level below the actual cost of providing daycare, the centre will therefore be forced to give preference to full fee-paying children. Student parents are in the process of being forced out of York Childcare.

The Metro cutbacks make the need for the York Administration to contribute to the centre increasingly pressing. While the administration claims to be covering rent of the facilities, our research indicates that rent is, in fact, covered in large part by the rent cheques of all the graduate resident students (the Centre is lodged in the Atkinson Residence).

The York administration's actual contribution to childcare is minimal.

The administration's indifference to services of special importance to women is also reflected in their unwillingness to provide secure funds for Harbinger — (the student-run counselling and referral centre operating out of Vanier). If Harbinger receives no further funds, they will be forced to close in May.

While Harbinger serves the entire York community, the fact that they provide counselling in unplanned pregnancies, abortion referrals, birth control, venereal disease and health care information, as well as counselling in relationships and sexual problems, makes them a service vital to women — since membership in the York community does not free women from the rest of the pressures and problems associated with womanhood in our society.

These issues only touch on the profound problems women face in the university. Salary differentials based on sex are unlikely to be rectified in the midst of wage controls. New resources to service the new intellectual interest in women's studies are unlikely to be forthcoming at a time when the library budget is shrinking. And above all, the university, rather than acting as a source of enlightenment to the rest of society, will continue to reinforce discrimination and prejudice.

We, in the ULS have no magical solutions to these problems. But we do know that unless we take them seriously we have no hope of rectifying them. We know that to get adequate childcare facilities on campus we will have to demand both an end to the Government's cutbacks policy and a direct financial contribution for operating costs from the administration.

As CYSF president, Alice Klein will attempt to coordinate the women's services and groups on campus to facilitate the acquisition of adequate funding for all of them, unlike the situation this year, in which the only help received by Breakthrough (York feminist publication) were empty promises for financial help. We will work towards pressuring the colleges and the administration to share the load of CYSF in providing the funding necessary for the continued activity of these groups.

We will also have to take stands on issues that transcend the university — issues like repeal of the abortion laws to facilitate freedom of choice for women; like equality for women under the law, equal pay and quality childcare.

The CYSF next year, could be a voice for change — for working to remove the barriers before women. Alice Klein is the only presidential candidate who will make this effort.

Libs & Tories tighten our belts

Quality of ed. & life down

The cutbacks in funding to post-secondary institutions recommended in the McKeough-Henderson Report, are only one part of a "package deal", a program of so-called "restraint" outlined in the report.

The report recommended across-the-board cutbacks in all areas of the social services in Ontario, in an effort to solve the government's budgetary problems by lowering the standard of living of Ontario citizens.

The most well-known of these recommendations was the proposed phasing out of a dozen Ontario hospitals. The loud public protest that occurred when ex-Health Minister Frank Miller attempted to implement the report caused the government to back down from its original position.

It is important to realize that the cutbacks in university financing are not an isolated phenomenon. Alone, the university community will probably be unsuccessful in attempting to stop the cutbacks.

But, if we can join with other groups affected by the cutbacks and make common cause against the government's restraint policy, then we can be successful.

We need to build more responses like the spontaneous protests which greeted Miller when he tried to shut down the hospitals.

The restraint policy is not limited to the provincial arena either. 50% of the financing for post-secondary education comes from the federal Liberals, and the recent re-negotiations of the Fiscal Arrangements Act saw major effective cutbacks in the amount of money the federal government is prepared to contribute to university education.

Another aspect to the federal government's participation in the policy of restraint, is its wage and price control program. After almost one and a half years of the Anti-Inflation Board, it is clear that the primary target of the AIB is the wages of Canadian working people. Day after day we read about wage settlements rolled back by the board, but we really have to do research to discover examples of price and profit rollbacks.

Students must make common cause with the organized labor movement in its opposition to the wage control program, as part of the overall policy of restraint which hits students in the form of higher tuition fees, cutbacks in student aid, etc.

The labor movement is the only sector of society to consistently support students in their opposition to the cutbacks. Since the November announcement of tuition fee increases, the Metro Toronto, Sudbury, and Sault Ste. Marie labor councils, the Ontario division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and Cliff Pitkey, president of the Ontario Federation of

Labor, have all called for the rescinding of the fee increase.

No member of the ULS is a member or supporter of the two parties who are chief architects of this restraint program, the Liberals and Conservatives. Many in the ULS are members and/or supporters of the New Democratic Party, the party of the organized labor movement, the

only party to take a stand against the restraint programs of the federal and provincial government.

As president of CYSF, Alice Klein would actively seek support for the campaign against tuition fee increases in such areas as the organized labor movement and sectors of society affected by cutbacks in social services.



"All power to the Board of Governors!"

The corporate connection

continued from back page

Alfred Powis — President and Chief Executive Officer Noranda Mines Chairman Canadian Electrolytic Zinc, General Smelting, Northwood Mills Vice-President Northwood Pulp & Timber, Brunswick Mining & Smelting, Bellendune Housing and Enterprises Director Noranda Exploration, Canadian Wire & Cable, Leaworth Holdings, Wire Rope Industries, Noranda Metal, Noranda Manufacturing, Canadian Copper Refiners, Noranda Sales, Pato Consolidated Gold Dredging, Noranda Australia, St. Lawrence Fertilizers, Quebec Smelting, Waite Amulet Mines, Amulet Dufault Mines, Gaspe Copper Mines, Empresa Fluorspar Mines, Noranda Inc., Kerr Addison Mines, Placer Development, Gulf Oil Canada, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Simpsons, Sun Life Assurance.

Leonard Lumbers — Chairman Noranda Manufacturing Director Noranda Mines, Wire Rope Industries, Budd Automotive, Abitibi Paper, Royal Bank of Canada, Canadian Wire and Cable, Canadian Copper Refiners, Coulter Manufacturing, Wolverine Die Cast, Dalkom Tool and Die Plasticast, Telecable and Wires.

John Proctor — Former Deputy Chairman and Executive Vice-President Bank of Nova Scotia, Former Executive Vice-President Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, currently Director, Bank of Nova Scotia, R.L. Crain, Vice-President, Mutual Life Assurance, Chairman General Accident Assurance, Scottish Canadian Assurance, Canadian Pioneer Insurance, Chandra AmericanLines.

John Turner — Former Minister of Finance, Canadian Government; Director Canadian Pacific, Crown Life Insurance, Canadian Investment Fund, Credit Foncier Franco-Canadian, Macmillan-Bloedel, Marathon Realty.

Sonja Bata — Bata Limited, Director Metropolitan Trust, Urban Transport Development.

Gordon Carton — Former Minister of Transportation and Communications, Ontario Government; Vice-President, Silverwoods Dairies, Silverwood Industries, Director Direct Transport.

Bertrand Gerstein — Chairman People's Credit Jewellers, Koffler Stores.

H.A. Hampson — President and Chief Executive Officer, Canada Development Corporation.

Michael Koerner — President, Canada Overseas Investments; Director, Cullinan Ventures, Shermess Iron & Steel, Huron Chemicals.

Walter Gordon — Former Federal Liberal Finance Minister, presently Chancellor of York, Chairman of Canadian Corporate Management; Director, Toronto Star.

H. Ian MacDonald — (President of the University) as ex-deputy-Finance Minister in the Conservative Government, was the highest-ranking non-elected civil servant in Ontario, architect of the Tories' restraint and cutbacks program.

Meet your B of G

Allen T. Lambert — Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Toronto Dominion Bank, Chairmans, Toronto Dominion Bank Trust Company, Toronto Dominion Centre Ltd., Pacific Centre, Toronto Dominion Centre West Ltd., Director International Consolidated Investment Ltd., Adela Investment Co. (South Africa), Arbutnot Lathan Holdings, Canadian International Paper Company, Westinghouse, Continental Corporation, Dome Mines, Dominion Insurance, Edmonton Centre, Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, Hiram Walker-Gooderham & Worts, IBM Canada, International Nickel, London Life Insurance, Midland & International Banks, Ontario Hydro, President Toronto Dominion Realty Company.

Roy Bennett — President and Chief Executive Officer, Ford Motor Company of Canada.

Fred Eaton — President, Eatons of Canada; Governor of the Eaton Foundation; Director Telegram Corp., Baton Broadcasting, CFQC Broadcasting.

William Dimma — President and Chief Operating Officer Toronto Star, Director Polysar, Harlequin Enterprises, Former Dean of Business Administration at York.

H.N.R. Jackman — Chairman Empire Life Insurance, Economic Investment Trust, President Canadian & Foreign Securities, Canadian Northern Prairies Lands, Debenture & Securities Vice-President Dominion & Anglo Investment, Vice-Chairman Dominion of Canada, General Insurance, Casualty Company of Canada, Director Victoria & Grey Trust, Argus, Algoma Central Railway, United Corporation.

A.J. Little — Director Brascan, Canada Life Assurance, Maclean Hunter, National Trust, Noranda Mines.

continued inside

Corporate interests govern York U.

The domination of York University's Board of Governors by business is quite apparent from the list of fourteen of the governors and their corporate holdings on this page. Another seven governors are from management or are lawyers. Only one, David Archer, past-president of the Ontario Federation of Labour, is from labour.

We are governed by two former federal finance ministers (Liberals), a former deputy treasurer of Ontario, a former provincial minister (Conservative), President of Eatons, a director of Simpsons (the two largest retail companies in Canada), directors from Argus and Canadian Pacific (two of Canada's largest holding companies, with their fingers into everything), the chief of Toronto Dominion Bank and directors from the Bank of Nova Scotia and Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (three of North America's largest banks, with their fingers not only into all of Canada but also reaching into the Caribbean and international finance). Representation from finance is completed by having directors of the largest insurance and trust companies.

From the industrial side of Canada, we are governed by the presidents of Ford Canada and Noranda Mines and directors of Canadian Pacific, Noranda, Macmillan Bloedel, Canadian International Paper, Albitibi Paper, Westinghouse, IBM Canada, Inco, Gulf Oil Canada, Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting, Hiram-Walker-Gooderham & Worts and Brascan.

Not only are many of these companies themselves mere branch plants of US corporations, but they also see nothing wrong with investing in countries where military dictatorships and racist governments rule. Ford of South Africa is a subsidiary of Ford Canada (which is controlled by Ford in the U.S.); IBM also has subsidiaries in South Africa. Brascan is famous for its extensive holdings in Brazil (a military dictatorship) which makes it one of that country's largest corporations.

But of special interest is Noranda. The Board has three members from Noranda, its president and two directors. Noranda is currently finalizing a deal to invest \$300,000,000 in Chile, a country whose democratically-elected government was thrown in a bloody military coup d'état three years ago. Noranda maintains that politics are of no concern to itself, a position common to big business, but which does not hold water in reality. As soon as Chile elected a government which

called itself socialist and placed the interests of the people above those of private business, the international community of business, banks and governments boycotted it. The boycott destabilized Chile's economy and is partly responsible for the military take-over. Now that private business is safe, international business is prepared to invest, even though its continued safety is based on military terrorism.

Just as Noranda's plea of "no concern with politics" is blatantly false, so is the plea of businessmen that they have the best interests of York at heart. To them York is a combination of buildings in which employees work and consumers pay to learn. They place balanced budgets above human need. They work within the decisions of Ontario's Conservative government, (decisions over which they have great influence), and present the most timorous opposition (if opposition it can be called) to each attack on our education.

Their perception of the university was most clear in their choice of presidents a few years ago, when government restrictions on university financing had started. They chose the top civil servant from the treasury of the Conservative government of Ontario, H. Ian MacDonald, the very government that was implementing the cutbacks.

It is time that this board, this clique of businessmen, was brought face to face with the problems of the flesh and blood members of York. We should no longer allow them to make decisions behind locked doors, and keep those decisions secret. That may be the way of business, but it cannot be tolerated in our university community.

Through the consistent efforts of students, staff and faculty we can end the business domination of York.



March 9 & 10, vote United Left Slate

Harvey Pinder for Board of Governors

Profits, education don't mix

York University is controlled by an undemocratic body, the Board of Governors. It is a self-perpetuating body of businessmen who control the pursestrings of York.

The Board, all-powerful concerning money, is composed of two students, two faculty, and 28 others, of whom all but a few are businessmen. Only the students and faculty are elected. All the rest are appointed by the board itself. Businessmen appoint businessmen, creating an ossified clique of like-minded individuals.

To compound the lack of democratic representation, all meetings are secret. You (whether student, faculty or staff) are forbidden from attending its meetings. We, the York community, only know what they wish to tell us. Why are these meetings secret? There is no reason for total secrecy. There may be a few matters which require confidentiality, but not total secrecy. Of course, businessmen are used to secrecy, since they compete with one another, but York is not in competition to sell education. Quite the contrary, it is supposed to inculcate self-discipline, self motivation, to educate citizens of the world, yet this community does not govern its own finances. York should be an open institution, in which decisions are open to scrutiny and criticism by everyone. Until the Board opens its meetings I will make public whatever goes on, since I am opposed to total secrecy.

But public meetings will only democratize the information, what is actually needed is democratic representation of the York community in all bodies which govern York.

The business dominated board must go, to be replaced by a representative body of students, staff, and faculty. The university must serve our needs as we decide them.

All Atkinson, Glendon,

Osgood and all York

students (including Bethune)

are eligible to vote for

B of G representative



Harvey Pinder

- active in left in Toronto for 8 years
- familiar with the growth of York for 10 years
- former Atkinson student and presently taking courses at York and Glendon
- involved for 7 years in industrial

trade union

- formerly active in U of T student movement — Waffle, NDP, Robert Library struggle, Toronto Committee for the Liberation of South African Colonies, Committee for the defense of liberties in Argentina
- former high school activist — League for Student Democracy

not the way businessmen decide. The majority of society, those who work, pay the taxes, and produce the wealth of the country, have no say in how the university runs, while the minority, the businessmen, control this institution. This needs to be reversed, the university needs to serve the majority of society. Part of this change is the York community gaining control over itself.

This university must be administered by democratically elected representatives of students, staff and faculty on campus. The outside community, the working people whose taxes pay for education should also have representation. Positions on the board could be opened up for general election during municipal elections.

If the chief executive officer of Noranda Mines or the President of Eatons (both presently on the board) wish to be leaders of our university, then they can run for election and let the people decide.

It's harder than being appointed by your friends, but it's quite a bit fairer.

The Board of Governors is usually out of sight and thus out of mind, but every once and a while it steps in and asserts its power. The latest, most atrocious example, is the reversal of the York Senate's

decision not to charge foreign students tuition of over \$1500. Though the Senate is not a totally democratic body, it nevertheless took a laudable stand. But, because the decision involved money, the Board had the final say. In their secret meeting, this clique of businessmen went along with the Conservative government and increased foreign student fees several hundred percent.

From other past actions it can be seen that the Board has meekly accepted the decisions of the Conservative government, and implemented them at York. This is also seen in their decision, three years ago, to make profits on housing, food, parking, and the bookstore in an effort to offset the restraints of provincial funding of universities, imposed by the Conservatives.

The immediate problems of students need to be vigorously and consistently put forward within the Board. Even though we only have two seats out of thirty two, I will spare no effort to make each governor aware of what students need now. We do not need a profit making bookstore, parking, or housing. We do need services which break even, and give us the lowest prices possible.

We need to retain student-run pubs and coffee shops, since these are the only food outlets which we have control over.

We need to retain Glendon College, both for its bilingual program which would be distinguished in the massive English predominance of York's main campus, and for its idea of a small liberal arts college, (which is the only one within a hundred miles of Toronto).

We need to remove Atkinson from its "poor relative" position either through unilateral York action but preferably by pressuring the government to increase funding of part-time students.

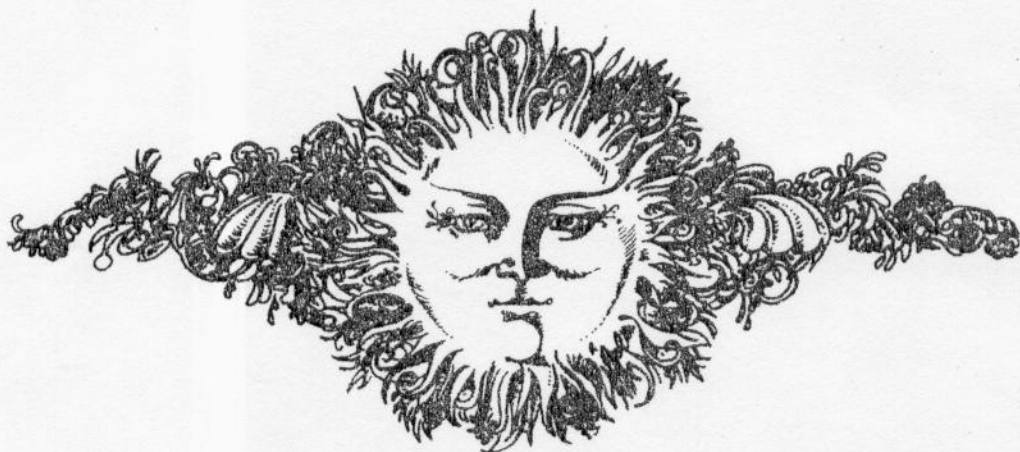
We need a Board which actively defends the interest of York and its students as the government continues their attacks on education.

York Women Need a Stronger Voice

BREAKTHROUGH SUPPORTS

the

United Left Slate



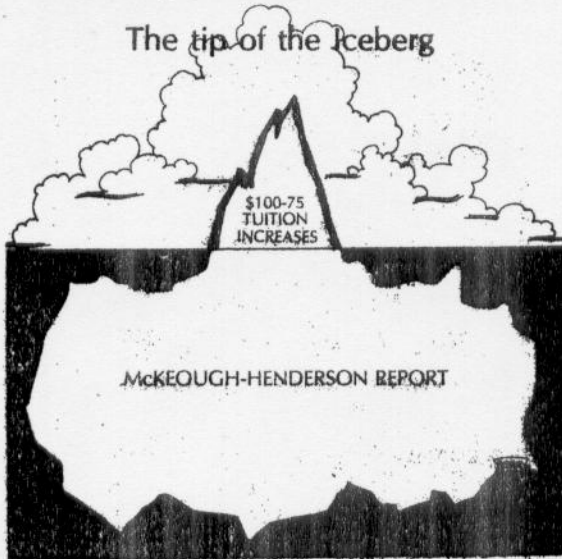
VOTE

Alice Klein,
for president of CYSF

UNITED LEFT SLATE

(Found in 1977)

The tip of the iceberg



It really is the tip of the iceberg. The 200% increase in tuition fees for foreign students and the \$100 increase for everybody else, announced last fall, are the "opening chapters" in the Conservative government's "McKeough-Henderson Report".

That report recommends tuition fee increases, spread over a three-year period, which would end up with students paying over \$1,000 in tuition, a 65% increase!

We need a CYSF committed to working within the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students to find ways of stopping the implementation of this policy.

Roll back the tuition fee increases

March 9 & 10 Vote

ALICE KLEIN (ULS)

President

HARVEY PINDER (ULS)

Board of Governors

CYSF Election

All - candidates meetings

Mon., Feb. 28, Vanier dining hall, 12 - 1:30

Tues., Mar. 1, Stong dining hall, 12 - 1:30

Wed., Mar. 2, Winters dining hall, 12 - 1:30

Thur., Mar. 3, Founders dining hall, 12 - 1:30

Mon., Mar. 7, Business common room, 12 - 1:30

Tues., Mar 8, Bearpit, 12 - 1:30

Contribution by Abie Weisfeld

March 24/77

I) Zionism:

- 1) (i) Does ULS take positions on international questions
(ii) Does ULS take a position on the Question of Zionism?
(iii) Is it a tactical question?
(iv) What are the tactical considerations?
- 2) How then does the ULS deal with the question of Zionism if it does not take a position on the question per se?
 - (i) The tactic of a non-position
 - since most everybody else does take a position on the ques
 - and since most everybody does take a position in favour of Zionism, then
 - not to take a position is in effect to take a position of not endorsing Zionism!
 - this represents a qualitative step away from Zionism and a step which is defensible
 - (ii) In addition, in appreciation of the orientation to Jews developed in the work of the Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews;
 - it is necessary to develop an orientation to the Jewish students based upon the university environment (eg the fascist painting of slogans), the concerns raised by the Jewish students themselves (eg. the Soviet Jews ; which we did act upon in 75/76), and our own initiatives (eg. the Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews, and the United Jewish Front concept)

II Economism vs. Propaganda

- 1) Largely a false question.
- 2) Errors have been made in each case through over emphasise
 - (i) In early days of student work, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ unnecessary emphasis was placed on an abstract support to the Vietnamese revolution without relating it to either the Canadian or the university context
 - (ii) the danger, if it is to be considered so serious a question today, is one of overemphasis on the merely economic issues of tuition and cutbacks without putting into a class context (which the CP has nurtured into a fine art)

- 3) An economist approach is not only incorrect politically by not serving to develop class consciousness but it is unsuitable to the development of a student movement. The fundamental reason being that only at most 1/3 of the student body is seriously affected by the tuition hikes (and the cutbacks).

This then poses the necessity of developing a rounded programme which can appeal on varying levels of interest to most of the students; a series of varied orientations and particularist orientations.

We have already incorporated such features into the ULS programme: (i) an orientation to women
(ii) an orientation to foreign students
(iii) an orientation to Black students
(iv) a civil rights orientation to Gays

(NOTE: references to programme include not only the printed statement of the ULS in the general election, but also the statements of programme put out in by-elections, any leaflets during the election, any leaflets put out at non-election times, any ULS statement printed in the student press, the articles written by the ULSers for the student press, the functions of editor of the Excalibur. (etc.), and the answers to questions posed especially at election time by the candidates.)

However, the orientation which offers the greatest potential in developing a political consciousness and mass support is that of orientating to students as Canadians. It is this question that has not been fully developed.

III Nationalist Consciousness

- 1) From our general analysis we know that nationalism is very generalized in Canada and is progressive
- 2) The challenge then is to develop a campus programme to fully develop the potential in this area
 - (i) This last published programme of the ULS took initiatives in this direction; eg. "This crisis is felt acutely by high-specialized and expensively trained graduate students, who can't even look to employment in the university milieu. Since few universities in Ontario have a policy of preferential hiring of Canadian graduates, we are witnessing what one observer called, a 'lost generation' of Canadian scholars."
and
"Not only are many of these companies themselves mere branch plants of US corporations, but they

also see nothing wrong with investing in countries where military dictatorships and racist governments rule. Ford of South Africa is a subsidiary of Ford Canada (which is controlled by Ford in the U.S.); IBM also has subsidiaries in South Africa. Brascan is famous for its extensive holdings in Brazil (a military dictatorship) which makes it one of that country's largest corporations." ...

"the chief of Toronto Dominion Bank and directors from the Bank of Nova Scotia and Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (three of North America's largest banks, with their fingers not only into all of Canada but also reaching into the Carribbean and international finance).

- (ii) the latter formulations were derived from the 75/76 B of G election campaign of the fall second edition of the programme

(Undated - from A. Weisteld corresp - Found in March 1977)

preface to letter sent to Jerry Sayer

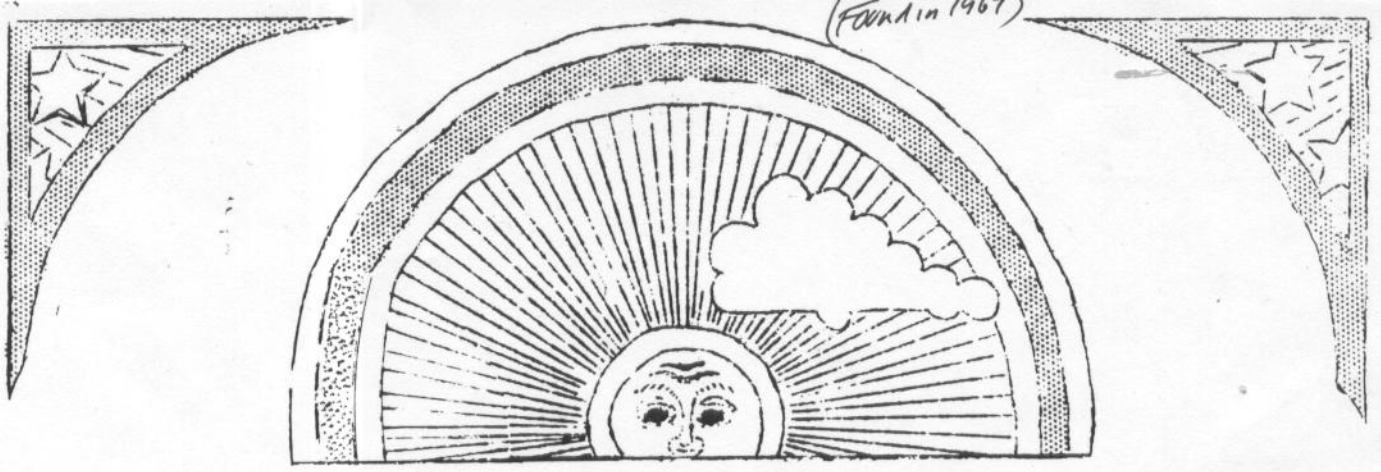
As a demonstration in opposition to the entire past period where I as organizer have not been granted the authority necessary to carry out my responsibilities and in order to establish myself as organizer being faced with an explicit challenge by Murray I wrote the letter in order to:

- preserve the ~~poss~~ possibility of recruiting Jerry Sayers and friend
- sending reply with bundle anyway
- reject acting as a passive Jew
- didn't have confidence in executive to resolve situation ~~sufficiently~~ since it would have meant

1) disagreeing with Ross

2) dealing with a particular question at its root rather than superficially as ~~the executive~~ is the tendency to do

- political question involved was of a serious nature
- wanted both questions settled i.e. from letter even status of organizer.

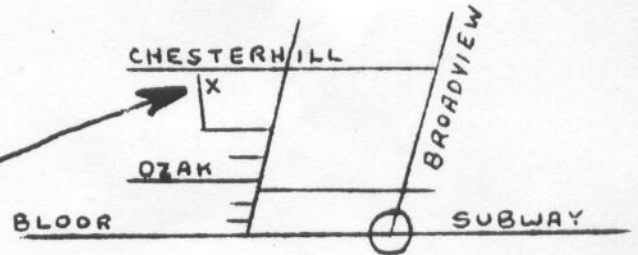


Forward Spring Party

Saturday March 26, 8:00 pm

50 Thorncliffe Ave.

Refreshments (\$1.00 Admission)



Canada in Question

CONFEDERATION CHALLENGED, April 8.

with Wayne Roberts, editor, Forward

The bankruptcy of Confederation and the forces behind and against Confederation

QUEBEC'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, April 15

with Ross Dowson

The growth of the independentist consciousness.

What the PQ means for the labour and socialist movement.

CANADA'S SURVIVAL? April 22

with Murray Dowson

The developing movement for a new constitution.

Will Canada survive US imperialism? What will the new Canada be?

SPONSORED BY

THE FORWARD FORUM

52 GERRARD ST. W. 8 PM

United mass
October 14 Day
old age pensioners! women!
community activist!

forward

CONTROLS
DEATH TO
BARGAINING
labor challenges controls

forward

to defeat the wage freeze
forward
Miners, technicians
hold the AIB at bay

Elliot Lake
Steelworkers
Local 2702

gress of all Can
ht Trudeau's wage

forward
Program for labor

a fighting program against Trudeau's freeze of four efforts to drive
for an emergency conference between Ottawa's wage freeze
Congress, the Ontario General Conference of Unions of the Canadian
domestic teachers' organizations — of all labor — to meet and discuss
their common needs behind a fighting strategy to resist Ottawa's
freeze.
Gibbs's leadership and Quebec's nurses' men in the long one. Their desire
whole center a time at the same time as the public in the structure of
for immediate action to form and strategy of the railway workers
concerns from a massive response (teachers, farmers and union commanders
measures to resist that no up and no down side must be taken
business completely against the rest of the community. Association of all
businesses and workers must be taken to the community. Association of all

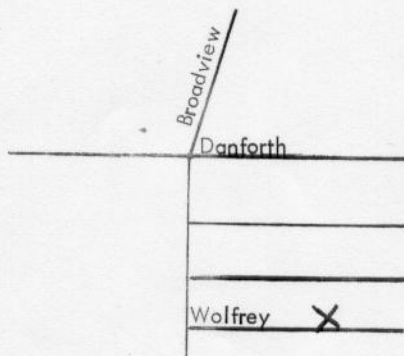
Celebrate May Day with Forward *a meeting.....*

This Sunday, May 1 at 8 pm, the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto is sponsoring a May Day meeting in solidarity with working people around the world. May Day 1977 marks the 88th year working men and women around the world have gathered together to express solidarity in the common struggle to build a world which genuinely serves the interests of the working class. With the Labour Council sponsoring a May Day meeting, May Day 1977 should prove to be the most inspiring in years.

It is the duty of all working class militants and socialists to participate in this celebration. Forward and its supporters will be there and we look forward to seeing you there as well. Details are on the enclosed leaflet.

and a party.....

Saturday April 30 at 8 pm, you are invited to a May Day house social sponsored by the people who every month bring you Forward. There will be food, drinks, fun and games, dancing (both modern and not-so-modern), maybe even some prizes, and of course, a chance to gather with the people from Forward and the Socialist League to celebrate May Day. The party will be held at 24 Wolfrey Ave., just three blocks south of the corner of Broadview and Danforth. And it's only \$2.50. For further information, phone 595-1284.



How to decide Cdn future

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 3, No. 2 (261) ISSN 0700-9038 April, 1977 Toronto 20 Cents

Jobless can leave country, living too high, flips Pierre

By Paul Kane

"...if you don't like it here....then find another country....people who live in the free market system have to take the risks that go along with it," said Prime Minister Trudeau, this month, to a rally of university student supporters gravely concerned about their present and future job possibilities. The swelling ranks of the unemployed, now well over the million mark, are the largest in the country's history.

The government is waging war, not against unemployment itself but against the unemployed, by ruthlessly paring back the number on unemployment insurance benefits.

"My heart doesn't bleed for you in Toronto. Do you think the government should give you a blank cheque and guarantee you a job...the shortage of jobs...means that there are too many of you," continued Trudeau. In some areas of the country, there are no job possibilities whatsoever. What a consolation for Toronto and other parts of the country! Too many of us? Is the government considering handing out strychnine as a solution? And if you don't have a right to a job, tell us, just what do any other rights amount to?

"You Canadians are trying to live too high off the hog...the country will go down the drain unless there is more self-sacrifice and restraint," said Mr. Trudeau to another Toronto meeting. The million unemployed and their dependents, the elderly, the bottom 40% of the population with incomes of less than \$9,666 who are getting today 2% less than they got back in 1965, are they living too high off the hog?

These are not just crude and insensitive declamations of a millionaire government leader out of touch with reality. It is Trudeau's New Society that his government ushered in with the wage controls in the Fall of 1975—working according to plan. We stated at that time the New Society was nothing but a concerted attack on the standard of living of the working people of Canada to give what Trudeau called "the free market system" admittedly "not working," a massive transfusion to break the stagflation that was afflicting it. The crisis of the capitalist system is to be solved by increasing the squeeze on its already suffering victims in the hope that its anarchistic workings will lurch forward again.

The cutbacks in education, in health care and social services, for which we will be paying for years to come, have cost tens of thousands their sole means of support, their jobs. The unemployment that is now plaguing the country is planned unemployment.

The leadership of the trade union movement and the New Democratic Party have projected a series of demands to help meet the situation—ranging all the way from shortening the work-week with no loss in pay, to a vast program of publicly financed and subsidized housing projects that will provide jobs and necessary living facilities. To stop and rollback the concious policy of the government will require the fighting unity of the entire working class movement.



Decision on Cdn pipeline now being Made in USA

By Dale Ritch

Recent statements and events in the US all point to the inescapable conclusion that the decision to build a pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley has already been made. The decision has not been made by the Canadian people or even the Canadian government, but by US politicians and businessmen.

In early February, American Federal Power Commissioner, N. Litt, endorsed the Mackenzie Valley route as the best, cheapest and most technically feasible of the three proposals brought before him.

Litt's decision carries with it the probability that the US government will back that route. US Vice-President Mondale has long been a supporter of the Arctic Gas scheme, having introduced legislation last year ordering the FPC to select the Mackenzie Valley path. President

declaring that when it formally announced the Mackenzie (sometime in gross would then giving Canada a time to resolve the sal rights and the fact that contracts arranged for the the steel pipe



struction of the evidence of the Mackenzie Valley

government has ispel the growing m.c. and more e pipeline will be rowing resistance ople of the North-west territories, as well as churches, unions, student, popular and nationalist organizations.

Trudeau very obligingly shipped off huge quantities of Canadian gas and oil to deal with a supposed short term energy crisis in the US this winter. Subsequently, a Congressional sub-committee has charged several large energy companies with refusing to honor contracts for interstate transmission of natural gas to Eastern markets and with refusing to

Continued on page 2

Patch up Confederation or a new constitution?

By the Editors

The coming Quebec referendum on independence casts its shadow over all political life in Canada. Can this country, without Quebec continue to long survive the ever growing pressure of US imperialism? Is it possible to forget the electoral victory of the Parti Quebecois on November 15 last? Can we pretend that it never happened and that an emotional appeal to "Canadianism" will take us back to the status quo ante?

The answers to the last two questions are "No." If, for some unforeseen reason, the present or future leadership of the PQ were to give up the struggle for independence, a new Quebec leadership would take it up. The fight for an independent Quebec has been going on for over 200 years.

Some workers fear that their desire and need for unity with Quebec workers will be hurt by an independent Quebec. These fears are groundless. Unity between the anglophone and the francophone working class can only be achieved if they can meet on a basis of equality.

Statements by Prime Minister Trudeau that Quebec's national aspirations can be achieved within confederation will not fool the Québécois. In confederation they would remain an oppressed minority. Only in an independent Quebec can they be a majority. Then they would be able to control such areas of government vital to their survival as language, education, communications, immigration, etc.

Even if they were to receive some benefits from the now vaguely offered "accommodations" and Canada was to become a decentralized federation, they could not achieve their objectives as a nation. Furthermore, such changes in the constitution of Canada would leave it as ten weak units. It would be an easy prey for ever increasing US domination. So Trudeau's solution of finding "accommodations" within confederation is no solution either for Quebec or the rest of Canada.

The answer to our first question, "Can this country without Quebec continue to survive?" is now imperative. It is the most important issue we face and anyone who hopes to have anything to say in Canadian politics must now answer it. The answer can not be a simple yes or no.

Firstly, a patch-up job on the British North America Act will not work. The B.N.A. act was foisted on the people to maintain Canada as a colony of Britain. Among its other purposes was the financial salvation of the railway bond holders and the permanent suppression of French-Canadians.

→ p. 2

Discussion opening up on constituent assembly idea

The concept that a new constitution is necessary—with some kind of popular involvement in its framing, up to and including a constituent assembly—is grabbing hold.

It has even surfaced in the federalist status-quo-or-bust Liberal party machine through the initiatives of a group of Quebec MPs, and has been taken up by Earle McLaughlin, chairman and president of the powerful Royal Bank of Canada.

McLaughlin told the Canadian Club that Canada needs a new constitution, that it is not sufficient to "plaster over the cracks," and that it can no longer be the "plaything of practicing politicians." For him, such a matter cannot be left to the masses. He thinks that a select group of distinguished Canadians should draft it on Ottawa's behalf and for its approval.

Liberal MP Bernard Loiselle, on behalf of a group of harassed Quebec colleagues, made a proposal along the same lines at the recent Toronto Liberal policy conference. He would place the task in the hands of MP's drawn from the four major parties, senators, and nominees of provincial gov-

ernments. Gordon Gibson, a former Trudeau aide and leader of the BC Liberals, posed a more far-reaching concept...an elected, non-partisan assembly to draw up the constitution with results being "put to the country in a sort of referendum."

In a signed editorial Canadian Forum has come out for "the creation of a popularly elected constituent assembly charged solely with the task of writing a constitution...requiring some formal means of popular confirmation of its proposals to establish the legitimacy of its draft constitution..."

"This initiative would leave the federal government, for the remainder of its term, with house-keeping duties not touching the essentials of constitutional change. [That government is clearly not capable of anything more.]"

The Forum editors see it not as reconstituting Anglophone Canada but as encompassing the Lévesque Quebec government which has already declared its course as irreversibly on the path to separation.

In This Issue:

Viewsletter 2
Czech dissident 5
Women's wages 8
York U gains 7
NDP Rodriguez 5

→ p. 3

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from FORWARD may be reprinted without fee as long as FORWARD is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Constituent Assembly

What is needed is a new constitution, a federal constitution for an anglophone Canada. This new constitution would recognize a new Quebec state and the special relationship it will have with Canada. In the discussion that must precede the adoption of this constitution, as far as relations with Quebec are concerned, a good starting point would be the proposals put forward by the Parti Québécois in its program. But the bankrupt politicians in Ottawa, devoid of ideas, can not be trusted to draw up the new constitution that anglophone Canada now needs. What is called for now is a constituent assembly which would have as its sole task the drafting, within the time limit of not more than two years, of a new made in Canada constitution.

Within the framework of the constituent assembly, workers could fight for an end to the appointed Senate, to connections with the British monarchy and all other vestiges of British colonialism. They would fight for a complete bill of civil, sexual and social rights; including guarantees of employment, job safety, decent retirement and an end to discrimination against women. They would fight for an end to the colonial status of the Native people within Canada. They

Continued from page 1

would fight for an end to federal-provincial relations which strangle the development of the Maritime and the Western provinces. They would fight, in other words, for the leadership of all the oppressed in the country.

How should a constituent assembly be formed? We suggest that it be elected on a geographical basis as the present parliament is elected. It should also have direct representatives from the labor movement, the native peoples and other popular organizations. During the election and during the deliberations of the constituent assembly, the present government would carry on as caretakers of the day to day affairs of Canada.

We believe that this call for a constituent assembly is the first positive step that must be taken to insure the survival of Canada without Quebec's participation in its present form. It is the answer to the question—where is Canada going?

Can the demand for a constituent assembly be realized in a concrete way? Yes, if it is picked up by the labor movement and its political arm the NDP and other popular movements. The question of time is important. This is undoubtedly one of the most serious crises to ever face this country. Action is called for now!

PM seeks US backing

A few short weeks ago, Prime Minister Trudeau went cap in hand to the fountainhead of world capitalist reaction—Washington, D.C. Trudeau went there to seek support from the new US President Jimmy Carter. Support against the independence fight of the Quebecois. He needed that support desperately, as day by day it appeared the Parti Quebecois was gaining strength. He got that support.

At welcoming ceremonies at the White House, he assured his host that, "our continental neighborliness will continue to flourish", and Carter replied, "we share the resources of a continent." Once again, Trudeau underlined that he and the Liberal Party are willing, yes, even anxious to continue the sell-out of Canada to US imperialism. Deeds always speak louder than words and we have only to examine the record of the Foreign Investment Review Board, set up under the act of the same name (FIRA), to clearly see that Trudeau remains a

dedicated continentalist. In this he is faithful to his predecessor L. B. Pearson.

Although the Canadian media played up the visit as a great event, only about 30 percent of the members of both houses of Congress came out to hear the first Canadian ever to address such an assembly. Trudeau assured them that Canada would not be fractured, that some accommodations would be made to satisfy the people of Quebec. But he revealed his real feelings about the right of self determination of the Québécois when he said that separation would be "a crime against humanity." Trudeau was cheered by the members of one of the most reactionary legislatures in the world. It is a legislature that does not number in its ranks one socialist nor one representative of labor.

The reaction of the sycophant Canadian capitalist press was ecstatic. Joe Who, the Tory leader, vowed that it was a good speech but he could have done better. Ed Broadbent, federal leader of the NDP, at first praised the speech but later had to draw back and say that he did not agree that the separation of Quebec could be classified as "a crime against humanity."

After the speech, Trudeau assured Carter that Canada would be most helpful in cooperating in the fulfillment of whatever decision Carter would make this Fall on the question of getting Alaska and Mackenzie Delta natural gas to the American market. Carter then came through for Trudeau. In at least two interviews he stated that he favored a status quo federalism in Canada. Of course he said he did not want to interfere in a question that was really up to the Canadian people to decide. Picked up by the media, it came across loud and clear that the US favored federalism. That it was going to interfere was later emphasized when the US ambassador to Canada, Enders, began to make similar statements, in Canada, supporting federalism.

Various military commentators in the US pointed out that an independent Quebec would possibly cut into Canada's contributions to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Northern Air Defence (NORAD). It is well known that the Parti Quebecois is opposed to NATO and NORAD and a big military budget. They are opposed to military alliances and are for a position of neutrality similar to the position of Sweden.

After his return to Canada, Trudeau's minister of national defence announced the payment of the first instalment on the visit to Carter. Barney Danson said Canada would be looking for bids on fighter aircraft to completely re-equip the RCAF. These bids would mostly come from US companies and cost somewhere between 2 to 3 billion dollars. This is on top of \$1 billion for patrol aircraft and a big order for German-designed "Tiger" tanks.

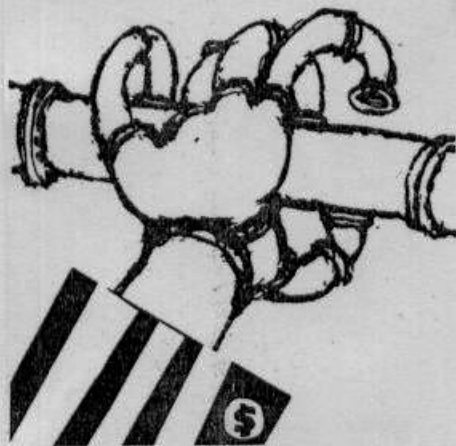
Carter's support for status quo federalism may eventually do Trudeau more harm than good. More and more Canadians are realizing that the US is the world's greatest reactionary force. Therefore advice from that source is looked upon with some suspicion, in fact, in many cases, with the attitude that if those who rule the United States are for it—it cannot be any good for Canada.

How can Trudeau have the effrontery to claim that he is for a strong federalist Canada and at the same time invite Carter to interfere openly in strictly Canadian affairs? For he certainly did exactly that when he compared the gravity of the problem of Quebec separation for the US with the Cuban missile crisis.

p. 3

Carter himself said the question of whether or not Alaska oil will be shipped through Canada "is something I will have to decide." It is irrelevant to Carter that a decision which directly involves Canada in such an immeasurable manner should be made by the Canadian people.

Morris Udall, now a leading Congressman, took the process a step further by declaring that when the US government formally announces its support of the Mackenzie Valley proposal (sometime in September), Congress would then set a deadline giving Canada a certain amount of time to resolve the issues of aboriginal rights and the environment. The fact that contracts have already been arranged for the manufacture of the steel pipe



necessary for construction of the pipeline is further evidence of the decision for the Mackenzie Valley route.

The Canadian government has done nothing to dispel the growing unease felt by more and more Canadians that the pipeline will be built in spite of growing resistance from the Native people of the North-West Territories, as well as churches, unions, student, popular and nationalist organizations.

Trudeau very obligingly shipped off huge quantities of Canadian gas and oil to deal with a supposed short term energy crisis in the US this winter. Subsequently, a Congressional sub-committee has charged several large energy companies with refusing to honor contracts for interstate transmission of natural gas to Eastern markets and with refusing to

Continued on page 2

Now being Made in USA

Continued from page 1

produce gas from their leases. The objective of these companies has been to create artificial energy shortages in order to drive up prices and profits and to put pressure on Canada to go along with the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and to increase exports of cheap oil, gas and electrical power.

Federal Energy Minister Gillespie has stated that he and chief American energy czar, J. Schlesinger, have agreed to co-ordinate decisions on the natural gas pipeline so there would be no "unnecessary delays." Gillespie further stated on February 26 that the settlement on native land claims should not affect the building of the pipeline.

It is obvious that neither Washington nor the Liberal government is going to be bound by the judgements of the Berger Commission (set to report in April) or of the National Energy Board (set to report this summer), let alone the feelings of the Native people who will face cultural genocide if the pipeline is constructed, or all the other broad social forces in Canada who are opposed to the pipeline.

The Dene nation, 7,000 native people living in the Mackenzie Valley, has demanded that no pipelines be built for 10 or 15 years so that the question of aboriginal rights can be settled and so that the Dene can establish a government and build an economy that will sustain their culture.

New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent has come out strongly against the Canadian Arctic Gas proposal. "There isn't yet enough known gas to make it worthwhile; the cost of building it is prohibitive; the method of building is unproven; its financing is unsound and unreasonable; and with many years of reserves, the Canadian need for northern gas at this time is question-

able," he said.

The building of a pipeline down the Mackenzie makes no sense to anyone in Canada, except the US oil companies and their faithful Liberal and Tory supporters.

Cops assault 'Peg strikers

The attempts of Griffin Steel Foundries Limited of Winnipeg to resume operations after being struck by the 140 members of the Canadian Association of Industrial Mechanical and Allied Workers last September are meeting with militant resistance. On March 7 the police forcibly removed some 40 of the many pickets who locked arms, sat or lay down in front of vehicles attempting to cross the line with strikebreakers—the majority hired through company ads in the press. Ten of the 40, including the union's regional vice-president and its staff representative, have been charged by the police.

The union's national president Al Pitt declared that the struggle will continue "until the laws are changed to prevent strikebreaking or the company gives us back the 40 hour week." The company hopes to break the small Canadian union but the struggle has won support, although as yet modest, from other Winnipeg union militants.

The provincial government has been attacked by NDP backbencher Ken Dillon for failing to intervene. According to Dillon, the government has been unable to do so because of disagreements in its own caucus.

NDPers are entitled to ask—why kind of caucus tolerates a mass lock-up of pickets and says it is unwilling to intervene?

Viewsletter contributes to debate on Canada's future

There's an old story about the hucksters who sold the Emperor a bill of goods on his clothes. The Emperor paid through the nose for the honor of parading in his spanking new birthday suit. But neither he nor his hangers-on would say anything, for they had been forewarned by the hucksters that the clothes would be invisible only to fools. No one except an honest child had the eyes to see it—the Emperor had no clothes.

On the Quebec issue, the best the NDP leadership is willing to say is that the clothes aren't quite as good a fit as all the nobles and clergy are saying.

Sometimes, they almost give it away. For a minute, Stephen Lewis, in his rousing speech on national unity to the Ontario provincial council, admitted "I feel frankly self-conscious and inadequate in coming to grips with it.

"Clamoring for unity is easy. Speaking in wholesome generalities about anything is something that any politician can do at any time. In present circumstances however, all of that seems somewhat irrelevant.

But still, he thought, Canada's constitution is "basically quite a serviceable document".

Tom Middleboro, writing in the federal NDP discussion bulletin **Viewsletter** is one of the best examples of NDPer honestly straining his eyes. Under the heading "Myth, Ten provinces, One nation", he lays it out.

"The national failure, the erosion of its' citizens belief that Canada is a valuable association has arisen from the general perception that Canada as a state no longer commands the means for self-assertion. Too many

of the prerequisites have been alienated from the nation. The losses were little commented on, in part because the country lacked the means for debate, but also because each loss was accompanied by hypocritical assurances on the part of the profiting entrepreneurs of their absolute faith in the country's ability to survive their depredations....

"Who enjoys membership in a powerless club or can feel the pride of citizenship in a country that does not control its own pocket book? The situation is even more absurd if one considers the oil industry...Who could respect a farmer who in summer sold his woodpile to a neighbour, then in winter had to buy it back, stick by stick, at inflated prices?..."

Middleboro thinks that a truly national debate might have won Canadians to the idea of a more co-operative Canada. "But the means for holding such a debate have been lost to the nation...Magazine production and distribution is overwhelmingly controlled from outside, for the profit of outsiders..."

The situation has been just as bad in the universities, stocked with US academics, providing a minimum for Canadian studies.

"Given the failures of the institutions of this country, what are we socialists to do? Face facts."

But this is what he finds difficult. First, he suggests a panCanadian struggle for equality of the two linguistic groups. Second, he urges an end to to daydreams of a PQ-NDP alliance. We must instead appeal to Québec to join in the struggle for a socialist-based autonomy, equality

and fraternity.

Its a well-meaning scenario but Middleboro still has a blind eye. For the dynamic sectors of Quebec, autonomy, equality and fraternity can only be won in an independent Quebec. They rightly see federalism as an instrument of dependence, inequality and exploitation. But Middleboro sets a federalist price tag on solidarity, which is an entirely different relationship.

Federalism was imposed on Quebec as on everyone else without so much as a popular referendum. True solidarity is not based on federalism but on class consciousness. One measure of the class consciousness of English Canadians is recognition of the right of self-determination. And



Lewis

the sooner English Canadian NDPers recognize that Quebec's independence is a settled question, one to be settled by Quebec alone, the sooner we can get on with winning control of the destiny of our own institutions.

Toronto women's conference

Debates equal pay for women

By Ellie Kirzner

Impelled by the economy's devastating swipes at women's paychecks, a conference was held in Toronto on March 12, on the subject of equal pay for work of equal value. About 70 women attended the meeting which was sponsored by a coalition of groups including the Humber College Women's Centre and the Ontario Working Women.

The coalition's chief concern centres on the Ontario government's Employment Standards Act whose rhetorical flourishes are egalitarian, but whose import is to make impossible the prosecution of employers who pay women less than men. Outlawing discrimination in pay against women who do "substantially the same kind of work" in an establishment, the Act indulges in a clever

The coalition is seeking to amend the present law by adding the concept of equal pay for work of equal value in any establishment, measurable by skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions. Such a change in the law would be an important recognition of the undervalued and underpaid nature of women's work and would lay bare the "hidden" rigors of the female occupational sphere, for which there is no due recompense. Secretaries, for example, do not have calculated in their paychecks, the back-wrenching discomforts of being confined to the typewriter, while they receive less money than their male office counterparts, who work without this encumbrance.

Of course the legal changes are only one dimension of the fight—one that retains the limitation of placing the onus upon the individual woman worker to attempt to bring the force of the law down upon her employer. As one panelist at the conference made painfully clear, the process of lodging a complaint is an exhausting one. In her case, a two year saga turned up a paltry \$48.00 in discrimination pay against the hundreds of dollars owing her. It is clear as well that the most powerful challenge is through individual trade unions refusing to accept contracts which define women's work as 'automatic low wage areas. And of course without a collective movement, few women are going to attempt prosecution of employers or persuasion of trade union leaders. Yet, despite all this, a change in the law would offer a much more expanded context for challenging the employers—one more arrow in the quiver against the ghettoization of female labor.

The equal pay conference was in general an interesting and educational experience, but the impact of its final plenary session was lost, a victim to the confusions introduced by the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). Fearful lest a reform be sought that does not solve all the problems of working women, the



Union Leader Madeleine Parent

RMG could not bear to allow a gathering of women to disband without pledging to fight for every demand—from seniority rights to equal access to child care. While the equal pay issue is a result of a convergence of numerous injustices against women, one can not mandate the form or priorities of the struggle. More than the adoption of a string of conference resolutions is in order; instead, support of concrete issues as they arise holds much greater promise for the winning of badly-needed victories for women.

The RMG, by attempting to impose the entire burden of women's liberation upon a coalition justifiably pursuing its own priority, fractured any serious consideration at the plenary session of the campaign's next stage. However, this note of disorientation is not likely to derail what promises to emerge as an important struggle. In recognition of this, the conference organizers announced their intention to hold a future meeting.



sophistry which results in entirely excluding women from protection when their work category is not directly comparable to that of men. Employers have cheerfully been able to duck prosecution under this law by merely fiddling with job categories. Thus we find the interesting distinctions between seamstresses and tailors, nurses aides and orderlies, stewardesses and pursers, distinctions whose only possible purpose must be the devaluing of women's work.

Freedom of choice forces to take more militant stance

By Harry Paine

Delegates to the annual conference and lobby of the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws met in an angry mood in Ottawa on March 1st. A large number of the delegates were doctors, staff people from women's centres, referral services and family planning units. On the "front line" of the struggle for freedom of choice, confronted every day with the plight of women with unwanted pregnancies, these people were a significant factor in the mood of the conference.

The Badgley Report on the operation of the abortion laws only served to rub salt on wounds when it was released a few weeks previous.



Every bit of statistical evidence contained in the report backed up CARAL's purpose—to remove the abortion law from the criminal code—while the conclusion of the report was that the law should be applied more equitably.

Reports from the delegates across the country were filled with chilling stories on the treatment that women

were receiving as a result of the law and its ambiguity.

The abortion situation appears to be getting worse rather than more liberalised, as the government would have us believe. Cutbacks in social service funding have been hitting this area hard. Abortion procedures in hospitals and family planning services are often considered the most expendable. Almost 10,000 women were forced to seek abortions in the United States in 1975 and there is no doubt that there has been a dramatic increase in that number since then.

"In terms of all civilian hospitals (1348) in Canada in 1976, 20.1% had established a therapeutic abortion committee", Badgley's report revealed. Even these figures do not tell the real story, for the majority of those hospitals are concentrated in only four provinces, B.C., Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario. Even worse is the fact that many of these publicly funded institutions will not do abortions under any circumstances.

At the Conference strategy workshops there were a number of proposals to escalate the fight for repeal of the law, for a wider public information program, hiring of organizers to build the memberships of CARAL and focussing on local and provincial problems.

A more militant future face for CARAL was evidenced by side-discussions suggesting sit-ins at hospitals to break the quota systems on abortions and encouragement of doctors to defy the law.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler and the delegates from Quebec reported that the Morgentaler clinic had reopened with the assurance from the PQ Government that there would be no more prosecutions. Morgentaler is now billing Quebec Medicare for the expenses of his patients. He also in-

tends to train doctors in his clinic and has offered his location as a training facility to the Minister for Social Services.

A number of delegates were also active members of the NDP, which is the only party committed to the repeal of section 251 of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion. There was some informal discussions on preparation for the NDP National Convention in Winnipeg this June. Pressure must be put on Saskatchewan and Manitoba to lead the way in setting up free-standing clinics.

ULS wins Board of Governors

York U Left gains

By Ian Kellogg

The York University Student Union (CYSF) elections in March once again became the focus of a left-right confrontation. While the right-wing forces won the battle for student president by 764 votes to 583, they lost two other elections: a United Left Slate (ULS) candidate became student representative on the Board of Governors of York and a referendum to end York participation in the provincial and national student unions, opposed by the ULS, was massively defeated.

For the sixth straight year the active left at York gathered in the United Left Slate (ULS). The ULS is a broad coalition of NDPers, independents, and socialist groups. Its democratically chosen program concentrated on educating York students about the need to organize into defence unions, to do the sort of basic work the organized labour movement has done.

The ULS wants students to organize against the \$100 tuition increase in Ontario, the tightening of student aid, summer unemployment, and the decline in the quality of education inflicted through cutbacks in funding.

The six year experience of the ULS has shown socialists at York that this is their main task. It is basic work, but galvanizing. It subjects the ULS to ferocious attacks from the "moderates", it draws all the progressive forces to its side, and it does carry out the educational task.

Although the ULS lost the vote for president, (Alice Klein, a contributor to *Forward*, was the ULS candidate), it won what it considered to be the major battle—the defeat of a referendum calling on York students to pull out of the provincial and national student unions.

The successful right-wing candidate was the main opponent of the two unions. It was virtually his entire platform.

The ULS, which linked up our individual financial and educational problems with those of all Canadian students, and linked up our struggles against university cutbacks with the labour movement's struggle against the AIB and social service cutbacks, was the main defender of the two unions.

The ULS campaign in favor of a strong student movement was strong enough to win the referendum with a record vote. It was not strong enough to overcome a vicious mud-slinging



ULS candidates, Alice Klein and Harvey Pinder

campaign against the ULS.

The right was able to target the ULS for some minor bookkeeping mistakes a ULS administration made two years ago. In the process there was slander and name-calling.

As well, some Zionists tried to mobilize Jewish students against the ULS. The Zionists considered that ULS support for the Palestinian Liberation Organization's right to come to a United Nations conference at York to be anti-semitic. The ULS, which actively combats anti-semitism, considered its support for the PLO's right to representation to be support for democracy. Over this disagreement, actually peripheral to student concerns, the major Jewish organization endorsed the right-wing candidate.

Still, nearly 600 people supported the ULS program of active organization against tuition hikes and cutbacks. This is its second highest vote ever.

The ULS campaign received the endorsement of the student newspaper, *Excalibur*, the Third World Student's Union, the Jamaica Study Club, and the feminist magazine at York, *Breakthrough*. The ULS support for the struggle for women's rights brought nearly all feminists to the ULS side including people from daycare, the Women's Centre, and the health service organization, Harbinger. The end of the campaign saw 100 people come to the ULS election night party.

It was a campaign the ULS lost. However, putting forward the hard-won program of the ULS became the

biggest and most unifying experience of the York left this year.

Another very vigorous campaign was won by the ULS. Harvey Pinder, running for the student representative on the secret, corporate-dominated Board of Governors, was elected by 824 votes to 770.

Pinder exposed the unsavoury workings of the Board. It is the highest decision making body at York. It administers the publicly funded university, but is dominated by private, non-elected, virtually self-appointed businessmen.

Pinder ran on a program opposed to this corporate domination of York. The ULS seeks to make York into a democratic institution run by students, staff, and faculty. Pinder said if corporation presidents want to administrate York, "then they can run for election and let the people decide. Its harder than being appointed by your friends, but its quite a bit fairer."

Other USLers who will represent York students next year are nine acclaimed CYSF candidates. This is an effective majority on CYSF that can counter the do-nothing measures of the right-wing president.

That the right-winger won shows there is much work ahead for the left at York. Unlike past rightists, he did not mask himself with any radical coloring. He ran an openly anti-political campaign that was in agreement with the recent tuition increase.

Ironically, student support for the central student unions shows the majority of York students did not agree with the program of the successful right wing candidate.

Most students realize they need strong unions to defend their interests. However, many are still reluctant to vote for the class struggle approach that can give student unions an effective content.

But the core support for the successful right-wing candidate shows many students are buying the government line that our expectations of adequate government service must be lowered in these austere times. The ULS tried to counter such arguments by pointing out the nature of government cutbacks — that they occur in social services and not in white elephants like the military budget or Mirabel airport, and by explaining the need to tax the corporations. More work by a united left is needed to make these points.

There are some encouraging signs in the Canadian student movement that show this task is feasible. Besides the York vote to stay in the provincial and national student unions, the Windsor University students have recently done the same thing.

More surprisingly, the conservative Western University students who pulled out of the provincial union last year, recently voted to rejoin that national union by a large majority. And in British Columbia, where tuition is skyrocketing, massive student demonstrations have been carried out in the last month.

As government attacks on universities deepen, the work of the ULS can continue to provide an opportunity for the York left to grow and mature.

PQ setting a stiff pace for Sask-Man NDP Gov'ts

By John Morgan

Addressing the Toronto Labor Council recently, QFL president Louis Laberge defended himself against accusations that he had abandoned the NDP in Quebec with his support of the Parti Québécois in the last election. He told the delegates that the PQ had done more for labor in its first three months of office than all NDP governments had done in their entire terms.

He had hard evidence to back him up: in addition to abolishing outright the Anti-Inflation Board in Quebec and establishing Canada's highest minimum wage (which is to rise every 6 months with inflation), the PQ government has earned the epithet "socialist" with its proposed "anti-scab" law which outlaws the use of non-union labor during strikes. "Not even the socialist Barrett government of BC went that far" complained the Conseil du Patronat du Québec (Quebec "Bosses" Council).

So far, the PQ government has been quite responsive to labor demands.

Indeed, the inaugural speech to the National Assembly announced that auto insurance, increased funds for Quebec's many impoverished municipalities, strengthening of Bill 22 to make French the language of work, and moves against the foreign-owned asbestos industry, were on the way.

Laberge introduced Lévesque to a group of workers as "our leader" the other day, confirming what many journalists have noted, that the "love affair" of the Québécois with

the PQ government is still very much on, and that the government is responding with its own amorous gestures. With hostile pressure mounting daily from the Trudeau government in Ottawa and the necessity to mobilize the PQ ranks and the entire francophone community for a favorable outcome in the coming referendum on independence, it is likely the

An action that could have far-reaching repercussions for the pan-Canadian labor movement has been initiated by Quebec's air traffic controllers.

Some 343 controllers, formerly part of the Canadian Air Traffic Control Association (CATCA), have asked the Public Service Staff Relations Board to certify their recently formed Syndicat des Contrôleurs Aériens du Québec (SCAQ) as the bargaining agent for controllers in the Quebec region of the Ministry of Transport.

Last summer the Trudeau government made a deal with CATCA, in order to get them back on the job, to suspend the exten-

sion of bilingualism and to appoint a commission of inquiry into bilingualism and safety in air traffic control. The Quebec members, who became known as Les Gens de l'Air, fought the CATCA brass in order to establish the use of French in Quebec airspace.

Should the Public Service Relations Board agree to the Quebec air controllers having their own Quebec organization, it could result in the Quebec membership of many other pan-Canadian bargaining units under federal jurisdiction seeking an independent status. This in turn would step up the pressure for the unification of Quebec's Big Three into one united militant trade union center.

Lévesque and others describe as a move to take "dominant control" of the five large foreign asbestos companies. The aim is to end blanket export of the raw mineral, with the aim of processing at least 20% of it in Quebec, creating an estimated 7,000 jobs. The mining companies have frozen their huge expansion programs. At the same time they have

pleaded inability to initiate asbestos manufacturing in Quebec with the excuse that Quebec is a small market. The PQ's overall plan is to introduce an "investment code" to govern foreign capital, which it sees as being the "transmission of new technology" instead of exporting raw materials.

Lévesque leadership will continue to make important concessions to labor and will introduce many vital reforms to curb foreign corporate interests in its efforts to alleviate severe social problems, such as the incredibly high rate of unemployment. The PQ is on the march: a government study is in progress which

Important in the affair of the asbestos companies is the total lack of francophone managers and technologists, the total lack of French above the mines. Economic Development Minister Bernard Landry, speaking in Winnipeg, laid the cards on the table, exposing the role of foreign capital in Quebec. In the past, he said, Québécois were "dominated and colonized" as we were forced to work in another language. But now we have educated thousands of able managers and technologists who must realize their aspirations.

What Landry said was at the heart of changes being made to Bill 22, introduced under the former Liberal government "to promote French as the official language", but in fact a component of Ottawa's bilingual policy. Under the PQ, the direction of the bill will not be to inveigle francophones into boardrooms by a process of osmosis, but to transform management and technology into French Sectors.

Thus, the PQ has adopted a unilingualist French policy essentially. In education, this is reflected by moves to require all immigrant children entering Quebec to be enrolled in French school (the anglophone children of Quebec residents alone being exempted.)

The pressure of young francophones for recruitment to jobs where they will work in French will certainly mount steadily as the key element in the "inevitable" process of Quebec's independence. Les Gens de l'Air, leaders in the struggle for bilingualism in Quebec's air space, feel victory of their cause is certain, and they are not about to be disappointed.

The Parti Québécois is no ordinary political party, with or without a petty-bourgeois leadership. Unlike the NDP where it is in government, the PQ leadership and parliamentary caucus must share power with a broad, representative National Council which jealously maintains its power to review party policy and monitor its application.

The recent decision to launch the campaign for a victory in the coming referendum on independence was



Photomontage by Gordon Hatt

p2
taken jointly by the Council and the PQ cabinet. It is to be organized jointly, and the wording of the referendum is to be worked out with its approval. In order to win the vote, the Council estimates it must get 66% of francophone approval, thus the campaign will be carried into predominantly anglophone areas which have been hitherto largely ignored as lost Assembly seats. Defeat is out of the question; the campaign will continue even if the first vote is lost.

Meanwhile, the campaign around the referendum continues on the front pages of daily papers across Canada. Quebec representatives in Canadian delegates at conferences abroad are telling the world that they speak only for Quebec, not for Canada. Quebec has announced that it will boycott the federal and provincial communications conference until "Quebec becomes their first authority in matters of (Quebec's) communications", which, Premier Levesque pointed out, are vital to our culture and education.

Big business and federal Liberal and Tory politicians are attempting

to create the feeling of a Quebec under seige, with their predictions that head offices are moving away to Ontario, and that independence will leave the Québécois poorer even if it enriches a few at the top. The Québécois workers, defence of the PQ government will be seen ever more vital as it drives toward what Levesque described as "inevitable" independence.

The "national" debate is on; in reality, it is a debate to be decided within the nation of Quebec, whether or not to declare its independence. On one plane, the debate is taking place within the context of all classes of Québécois, with talk of cooperatives, and harmony between unions and government. In reality the fight for independence is pitched against the power of foreign corporations and their central enforcer, the Ottawa Liberal government of Trudeau.

As that struggle unfolds, as US and Anglo-Canadian capital attempt to force the Québécois to the wall, the political consciousness of the workers will continue to deepen. Then the aspirations now entertained from the PQ will find more direct expression, in the struggle for an independent and socialist Quebec.

"US Control of Canada why Que. anti-federalist"

John Rodriguez, NDP MP from Sudbury, is rapidly winning a fighting reputation. During the debate on provincial-federal fiscal relations on February 24, he had occasion to give his comments on Trudeau's speech in Washington. Although he subscribes to the federalism of the NDP leadership, at least implicitly, he makes some telling points about the relation between Canada's domination by the US and the rising protest against federalism.

"I recognize the fact that the Prime Minister (Mr. Trudeau) was following the long tradition of potential actors and performers who have to go to the United States to become successful.... It seems to me to be betraying a colonialist mentality which we have not yet outgrown. I refer in particular to the comment made by the Prime Minister... 'The greatest threat to the United States is the disintegration or break-up of Canada'."

Canada and of all provinces.

"I hear giggling on my right, but the fact remains that foreign ownership in Canada is still a great threat. What is the good of coming through the other struggles as a united Canada when, in effect, we have no control over our consumer patterns and no control over our own culture...

"What we have done is, in effect, to give up that whole fight. There was a great froufra about foreign ownership in this country, so we brought in the Foreign Investment Review Act. I have received reports which state that six out of seven applications for take-overs are approved. As parliamentarians, we never see the basis for an approval or a rejection of a take-over. We see the spectacle of provincial premiers running to the boardrooms in foreign countries begging them to invest in their provinces."

"It struck me immediately... as being a tacit invitation to Big Brother... all sorts of agents, agent provocateurs, CIA and other characters will want to invade this country in an effort to destabilize the situation in Quebec..."

"...I stand for a free Quebec, just as I stand for a free Ontario, a free Manitoba or a free Saskatchewan. The only way that can come about is for Canada to be free. From my ideological perspective, we should have a free socialist Canada because, in my view, that is the only way in which Canada can guarantee the cultural rights of all groups within

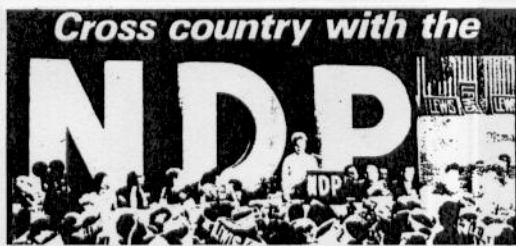
Trudeau's speech could have been televised from Canada, he said. "Of course, we would have had to be careful that it did not conflict with 'Sanford and Son', or 'Chico and the Man'—but we could not have control over that." If such a discussion has started in the Canadian parliament, he said, "from our own perspective, we would have argued for an independent socialist Canada because that is the only political entity which can guarantee Quebec or any other province its cultural rights and other aspirations".

Of course, federalism is no such instrument now. That is one of the reasons why the Quebec nationalist movement is anti-federalist.

From our selection of **BOOKS ON QUEBEC**

Quebec-only the beginning-the manifestos of the common front---	1.95
French Canadian Society—Rioux & Martin-----	4.50
Quebec: social change and political crisis-Postgate & McRoberts--	4.95
The Decolonization of Quebec—S. & H. Milner-----	3.95
The Quebec Establishment---Fournier-----	5.95
A History of Quebec, a patriot's handbook---Bergeron-----	1.75
René---Desbarats-----	10.00
The Bitter Thirties in Quebec--Dumas-----	3.95
Quebec vs Ottawa--Morin-----	6.50
Vigil of Quebec--Dumont-----	3.50

FORWARD BOOKS
53 Gerrard Street West at Bay
Toronto [595-1285]



By Wayne Roberts

Hitting the speculator

A Manitoba Royal Commission on land monopoly is confronting the NDP government with some real dilemmas.

Investigations and reports before the inquiry have been publicizing some remarkable discoveries:

1. Four large development companies dominate Winnipeg landholdings and stand to make profits of \$159 million.
2. Through their destruction of small contractors, they have been able to raise the 1966 price of three bedroom bungalows from \$18,000 to \$51,000.
3. Speculators in the suburb of St. Vital raised land prices 160% in 15 months, cashing in on \$645,000 in profits.
4. One sharp operator worked through city politicians to net some \$600,000 in profits in 1973-4.
5. The Manitoba NDP government has been an unwitting collaborator in this price spiral through their fast and heavy purchases of land which they hope to re-sell cheaply to low-income buyers. In doing so, the government has played beneficiary to profiteers by working within their framework of inflated land prices. They have not challenged speculator superprofits.

Thus, the bankruptcy of reformism is lining the pockets of profiteers.

Proposals are being bandied about for a heavy land speculation tax. One respected consulting engineer has suggested a 100% tax on unearned increments. When the Royal Commission is completed, the government will have to make its decision.



Manitoba's Premier Schreyer

Lewis waffles on policy

The *Alberta Democrat*, one of the liveliest and most open papers of the cross-Canada NDP, carried an extensive discussion on the Manitoba convention in its March issue. According to their report, the issue of party-caucus relations was an underlying theme of the convention.

The editorial in the same issue comments on the general character of the issue.

"There is a tendency in Canada in general for elected officials to assume that it is personal charisma and attractive individual attributes that won them their posts. This may well be the case for the Liberals and the Tories, but it has always seemed to me that NDPers are elected on the basis of policy and rational treatment of the issues. If we are to grant that

it is not toothpaste commercial grins that elect our party's successful candidates, but rather the overall party policy developed democratically at the annual conventions—and the hard and dedicated work of party volunteers at election time—it follows that NDP caucus members have an obligation to follow the party line as much as is possible.

"The argument that an NDP caucus member is 'elected by all the people, not just the party faithful', and thus is mandated to pursue non-party policy, is in this case fallacious. If a person is elected as an NDPer, that person is elected as a representative of a party with certain policies and should be bound both by party consensus and by electoral mandate to follow those policies..."

Responsible to the party

Since the party rank and file are never informed of the election wizardry of their own election strategists, we can often only guess at upcoming projects. It looks now that ONDP leader Stephen Lewis is planning to speak out on another series of hardhitting issues like rents and occupational safety as he did during the last election. He's already highlighting Reed Paper and pollution.

But in their complicated juggling act, the left hand does not always know what the right hand is doing.

Stephen Lewis has even enrolled his son in that bastion of all-male Tory colonial privilege and elitism—Upper Canada College. The move to Anglican UCC can hardly be explained on the grounds of Lewis' religious beliefs. We can only conclude that he is grasping for a touch of their respectability, the kind of respectability that in Britain turns sell-out Labour Party leaders into Knights and Sirs.

The Brantford Ontario riding has just nominated Jim Schneider, former special assistant to Lewis, as its provincial candidate. Beneath the bilge of clichés, there's an ominous

note to his acceptance speech.

"We can model a politics that has more to do with finding solutions than with the finding of villains. We can act on our belief that this election has more to do with running for something, rather than running against somebody.

"I ask you to stand with me and the party, here at these crossroads, and face with me the real and demanding choices ahead. I ask you to join with me here in launching... a new kind of politics—of quality, of honesty and of leadership and purpose".

Now, when Tories and Liberals talk about crossroads, you have to hold onto your wallet. When NDP tops talk like that, you have to hold onto your convention policy book.

What is this crap about public problems without villains? Is it the good guys who are polluting the environment, building unsafe factories and mines and cutting back on social services? What is this new politics of clichés with demanding choices? In the absence of operative democratic rank and file control over election strategy, we can only guess.

Opposes Gov't on Chile

NDP activists are facing both sides of the vicious federal Liberal policy on Chile.

In Sarnia, a riding association has taken up the cause of Pedro Denegri, a 27 year old Chilean refugee fighting forced deportation to almost certain torture and death at the hands of the military junta.

In Ottawa, MP Rodriguez is trying to build opposition to the proposed Chilean ambassador to Canada, Mario Arnello. During the period of the elected Allende government, Arnello promoted the fascist 'Father-

land and Freedom' organization, an information sheet reports. Since the coup, he has defended Chilean atrocities before the United Nations and has been connected to groups responsible for the murders of exiled and refugee Chileans.

Even the Spanish government in the last days of Franco refused to approve his appointment as ambassador on the grounds of his blatant fascist associations. Ottawa, suffering no qualms about deporting Denegri, is prepared to accept a man too fascist for Spain.



Confederation terms used to shaft Sask NDPgov't policies

The federal government is "shafting" Saskatchewan, according to NDP Finance Minister, Walter Smishek.

The federal government has just pulled the rug out from under Saskatchewan's medical programs for the handicapped and aged. Formerly, Ottawa split costs with the provinces for such programs on a 50-50 basis. Now the programs have to be financed from per capita grants, grants which have drastically reduced the money available to Saskatchewan.

Smishek charged that the new cost arrangements are not based on a proper consensus of the provinces. The new arrangements were supported only by the wealthier provinces.

He was joined in his protest by NDP MP Tommy Douglas, who told the House of Commons that the federal government "is moving in a dangerous direction that could lead to balkanization of the country...the throwing of national standards of health and education out the window."

Ottawa has been just as merciless in the field of resources. Premier Blakeney charges the federal government with discrimination. Saskatchewan's exports of oil are subject to an export tax while Ontario and Quebec's hydro exports are untaxed.

Ottawa's attack on the provincial jurisdiction over resources has been "relentless", he claims. In 1974, it ruled that provincial royalties could not be deducted as an expense for income tax purposes. It also tried to block the ability of Saskatchewan to pro-rate exports of potash. US potash giants had been squealing that this limited attempt to counter the monopoly pricing control was too much.

In 1975, Ottawa joined the oil companies in a legal challenge to Saskatchewan's power to demand royalties from windfall oil profits. If Ottawa wins its suit (which in effect would mean that a province could not tax a company for use of its land), the Saskatchewan government will have to pay back \$500 million to the oil giants.

The federal government is also involved in holding up exploration and development of Saskatchewan uranium in areas that are now considered to be the richest bodies of uranium ore on the continent.

All this is, of course, old hat for the federal government. At the time of Confederation, Ottawa hoped to

rule the west as a territory, maintaining total control over development. Only the Riel Rebellion of 1870 won provincial rights for a section of what is now Manitoba. Not until this century did most of the west win any form of real self-government. Not until 1930 did they win orthodox provincial rights over their resources.

The reasoning was simple. Ottawa's Tories wanted to be able to manipulate these resources for their own purposes. In particular, they wanted to make huge land grants to the CPR and others; deals which would give Ottawa the reins of power in developing a resources export economy directed to Britain. Federal

policy now is a leaf from the same book—except that now they are oriented to the United States.

None of this is surprising. That's what federalism is all about—not in high-blown rhetoric to Quebec but in the real world. Federalism has become a political instrument for the continued exploitation of Canada's natural resources to the benefit of the American conglomerates.

The only question is—why are the Blakeney's hob-nobbing with the federalists over Quebec when the federal boot is being put to them. Why aren't they joining the call for a constituent assembly that could eliminate these political and economic structures of domination?

Nationalization of Bell

Several NDP MPs have been raising objections to Bell's demands for a rate increase that will add \$172 million yearly to its last year's revenues of \$1.9 billion. Under law, Bell's rates must be regulated by the CRTC, now holding hearings on the matter.

Of course, regulating a super-monopoly like Bell is a bit like umpiring a baseball game where one

team is at bat all the time. Only in Bell's case, it's not enough to be the only team at bat—they still have to cheat.

First, they set up subsidiaries which aren't regulated by the CRTC. This allows them to get struck out but still count it a homer. In 1971, Bell let its fingers do the walking and created Tel Direct for the publication of directories in Canada and the United States. Less than half Tel Direct's profits in 1976 were channeled to Bell, a ruse which gave the illusion of a \$3 million loss in revenues. Of course, this is just a tidbit compared to its relationship to Northern Electric. Thus, BellCanada is provided with a convenient but phony argument: money for Bell Canada's expansion can't come from past profit; it must come from increased rates.

Then they blindfold the outfielders. An Innuit Tapisirit tribe in the North West Territories tried to phone another tribe to inform them of the hearings for the rate increase. It took Bell two weeks to place the call!

Then, they insisted the pitcher be on their team. They have refused to install new phones unless the increase is passed.

This led NDP MP Rodriguez to comment: "There it is. There is a threat from one of Canada's largest corporations." Their first priority should be service, not profits, he said.

For that to be so, the NDP MPs will have to follow up on the resolution of NDP MP Cyril Symes of a few months ago—Bell will have to be nationalized.



Militants speak up at Ont. Council

A spirit reminiscent of the days when the Waffle was an active force in the NDP highlighted the Provincial Council meeting which took place in Toronto on March 5 and 6. The council was sharply polarized by a motion presented by the Beaches-Woodbine delegate which called for the NDP not to solicit any corporate funding until the issue could be discussed at convention.

This motion was a response to a compromise motion passed at the previous council meeting in December which allowed soliciting of corporation funds as long as certain guidelines were followed. In the ensuing period, it became clear to activists in many ridings, including the originator of the compromise motion, Nickle Belt, that the so-called compromise motion was full of loopholes.

The party leaders who eagerly and blindly led the campaign to go after corporate funding had not counted on the tremendous outburst of opposition which came from many ridings across the province and which manifested itself at the council meeting.

Speaker after speaker at the council argued that to solicit corporate funding would betray the class basis of the NDP and compromise the par-

ty in the eyes of workers. Several delegates were prepared to leave the party if the Beaches-Woodbine motion was defeated.

However, in a highly charged atmosphere, the party rank and file this time won the vote, 75 to 74, with Jim Turk, the chairman, casting a dramatic deciding vote.

Although much of the discussion and many of the adopted resolutions demonstrate that the tenor of the

council meeting was quite conservative and lacking in much socialist or even class understanding—witness the refusal to tolerate discussion on a Dovercourt motion to defend Ed Ziemba's actions in releasing the names of doctors who ripped off OHIP—the defeat of the party leadership by the rank and file on the issue of soliciting corporate funding indicates that the left has begun the process of reconstituting itself as a force in the party.

New class series on the Canadian Crisis

By Abie Weisfeld

In the current crisis confronting Canada, it is not permissible to remain sideline commentators on the political events occurring elsewhere. The left now has prospects of influencing the train of events.

To lay the basis for such actions the Forward Forum has planned a series of talks on "Canada in Question." This series plans to examine the consequences of the 217 year-long struggle of the Québécois for independence along with the prospects for the viability of Canada facing the continued encroachment of US imperialism.

These series provide an opportunity for **Forward** readers to present their ideas on the current debate on Canada's future and hear informed presentations. "Canada in Question" begins the first of three class-

es with Wayne Roberts on Friday evening at 8:00 pm, April 8, and continues on the following two Fridays with Ross Dowson and Murray Dowson.

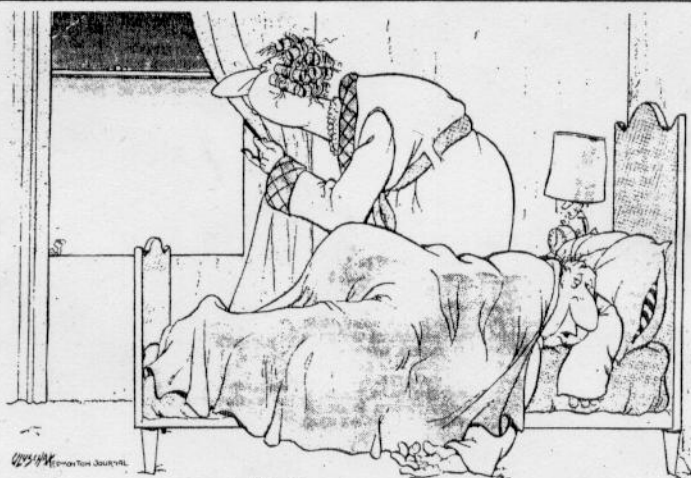
The just completed series of classes dealt with a number of ideological perspectives (Stalinism, state capitalism and Trotskyism) represented in the Canadian left, in their view of Soviet Union. The crisis of Stalinism and the Communist Parties throughout the world provided the background for the three discussions. A Trotskyist view was presented on the 1917 revolution, the degeneration of the revolution under Stalin and the prospects for political revolution in the Soviet Union and East European countries.

Further information on the forums can be obtained from Forward Books at 595-1284 or by putting yourself on the Forum mailing list for ongoing notification.

For those unconcerned about the destiny of Canada yet claim to be Leninists:

Lenin, **Selected Works**, Vol. IV, pp. 327-328.

That the "proletarians have no fatherland" is actually stated in the **Communist Manifesto**... But it does not follow from this...that it is immaterial to the proletariat in which fatherland it lives, whether it lives in monarchist Germany, republican France, or despotic Turkey. The fatherland, i.e., the given political, cultural and social environment, is the most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat...The proletariat cannot treat the political, social and cultural conditions of its struggle with indifference or equanimity, consequently it cannot remain indifferent to the destiny of its country.



"Is Canada still here?"

forward

Vol. 3, No. 3 (77) ISSN 0700-9038 May, 1977 Toronto 20 Cents

#27 MAY 1977

Vote NDP on June 9 Ont. Labor to power

By The Editors

The Ontario election is on. Engineered by Tory hawks on the basis of some favorable polls that served their partisan advantage, it may well present the NDP with unprecedented opportunities.

The Liberals, unable to get their feet out of their mouths, are in disarray. As a pan-Canadian political machine of Big Business, they have been shaken to their roots by the PQ election victory. As an Ontario party humiliated by backstepping, the middle ground they have tried to occupy between the Tories and NDP has turned into a swamp.

A new actuality is sharply posed—the possibility of the NDP moving from opposition to power.

In anticipation, Premier Davis' roughriders are hurling all the invective of their class against the NDP. The Tories have not been swayed by the Premier's supposed high personal regard for Stephen Lewis. They have pulled out all the stops, raising up a storm of scares that the NDP would turn Ontario into an "industrial wasteland", that the NDP defence of unemployment insurance would create a "disincentive to work". NDPers, he complains are "missionaries...wanting to help the downtrodden".

In the name of stability, the Tories are calling for re-election as a majority government. Their re-election would open the doors to wholesale cutbacks in social services, hospitals and jobs. Although the existence of a large NDP opposition was able to slow down several swings of the axe

over the last year, the Tory regime has been able to proceed as a virtual one-party government in all its major measures, due to the Liberal support of their "austerity drive". A Tory majority would give stability to the escalation of their grim-reaper social strategy.

The NDP enters the campaign with thousands of campaign workers, prepared to carry the educational work of the election with an all-out effort. The NDP is focussing on the massive spoliation and squandering of Ontario's potential through industrial disease, unemployment and virtual poisoning of our water supply. In all these cases, human need has taken a poor second place to the short-sighted and callous lust for profits. Companies dump their sewage into rivers and lakes, while the

Workmen's Compensation Board treats injured workers as so much sewage to be disposed of just as cheaply. While the Tories accept 250,000 out of work as "full employment", and berate Unemployment Insurance (which workers have paid into) as "disincentive to work", the corporations get off scot-free with waivers on their already minimal tax load, waivers that could finance the public projects that could put Ontario back to work.

Unlike the parties of Big Business, the NDP has always relied on the work of its members and supporters in the campaign. There are no corporations to finance a media campaign. There is no host of professional political managers who feed at the troughs of old-line parties' corporate donations. Even Stephen Lewis' attempts to shortcut the problems of building a rooted movement by wooing the mass media with his soft, "moderate" image will not bring favorable or even fair reporting.

With the NDP as incumbent official opposition poised for power, NDP rank-and-file activists and militants have more than their usual tasks. They must overcome the image cultivated by Lewis and his coterie of advisors who have consciously soft-pedalled the class basis of the NDP, subordinating it to the etiquette of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

In so doing, they have cut across the grain of the party and its representatives. Ed Ziemba received widespread support in the party when he violated a parliamentary sub-committee's undemocratic secrecy and made public the outlines of the true story behind soaring costs and mismanagement in OHIP. For this, Ed Ziemba was roundly denounced by none other than Stephen Lewis. Enamored with the drive toward respectability, the party leadership were prepared to solicit funding from Big Business interests, until a halt was called by the party's Provincial Council. The disease has become infectious in the leadership, as they now pander to all manner of prejudice against the Québécois and their struggle for independence.

In fighting for an NDP government in the decisive month ahead, it is the NDP militants who will ensure that the party is invigorated and renewed with a fighting spirit and program.

**FOR AN NDP GOVERNMENT!
VOTE NDP!**

Continued on page 3

Polls survey Canadians on Quebec

by Ian Kellogg

Recently published polls give a rough indication of public opinion on the question of independence in Quebec, four months after the election of the Parti Québécois. This information can be a useful guide for those wanting to participate in shaping Canada's future.

A Quebec poll, released early in April by the CBC, revealed large gains in support for independence. An unprecedented 32% of Quebec-

has doubled since PQ. In the opposition to is also recorded. rity (52%) in Queposition. The rem-undecided.

tes that the long-uebec nationalism ith the election of ually been accel-

or independence is most dynamic sec- he labor movement seems likely to con- lict of these facts, vesque's claim that



CALL THE TORY HAND WITH AN NDP VICTORY!

Libs-Tories rescue profits with high unemployment

by Alice Klein

Trudeau's bold solution to unemployment crisis facing Canadians—if you don't like it here...then find another country...is now only one of a number of creative suggestions descending from government officials.

Among the most outrageous projects is that championed by federal cabinet minister Barney Danson. His scheme, with ominous similarities to the military-style work camps set up in the 1930's depression, is a plan to send Canadian youth into out-of-the-way areas, where they will work for the princely sum of \$1.00-a-day. If they last ten months in the programs they are promised a bonus of \$1,000 to finance their future education.

Ontario's government prefers to just play with statistics. They have decided to define unemployment out of existence. According to Treasurer Darcy McKeough, the 2.9% unemployment rate, which has traditionally been considered a full employment rate, will be redefined to 5.3%. From

now on, argues the treasurer, it will be considered normal for about 236,000 people to be out of work in Ontario. With this dazzling sleight of hand, the Tory government has managed to reduce Ontario's staggering 7.1% jobless rate to a respectable, even praiseworthy 1.8%. Easy, isn't it!

In keeping with fantasyland mentality, the report explained that there are many reasons for unemployment other than lack of jobs. Perhaps the government should explain this point to the 20.8% of workers in construction-related industries unable to find work, or the 353,777 people collecting unemployment insurance in Ontario.

But if Ontario's new definition of full employment is pathetically transparent in its intent to hide the true scope of the unemployment crisis, Statistics Canada, with its "seasonally adjusted" unemployment rates, is really slick. A *Toronto Star* study calculated the actual number of people collecting UIC benefits as a percentage of the total labor force. They found that while the official "seasonally adjusted" unemployment for Canada as a whole was 7.9 percent, the actual rate was 16.4%—more than twice the figure released by Statistics Canada!

Of course, Ottawa is doing its best to ameliorate these overwhelming statistics—not by providing jobs, but by cutting more people off unemployment benefits. Harassment and intimidation of those receiving the benefits which they have paid into, was only the parting shot. Extending the qualifying time for UIC benefits should really help whittle away the numbers of the officially unemployed. Under Trudeau's new regulations, the number of weeks necessary to qualify for unemployment insurance will be changed from eight weeks to a varying rate of 10 to 14 weeks depending on the local unemployment rate.

Both the Tories and the Liberals have shown amazing resourcefulness in evading solutions. Their big business budgets have refrained from even token attempts at creating jobs. And for good reason. Unemployment is by far the most successful way to restrain the wage demands of working people as a whole. Not only is it a source of hardship for those who are unemployed, it is a valuable lever to attack the standard of living of those who are employed. Unemployment is more useful to Trudeau than the AIB ever was.

Continued on page 2

Continued on page 2



Right to decide is conceded

by Ian Kellogg

Recently published polls give a rough indication of public opinion on the question of independence in Quebec, four months after the election of the Parti Québécois. This information can be a useful guide for those wanting to participate in shaping Canada's future.

A Quebec poll, released early in April by the CBC, revealed large gains in support for independence. An unprecedented 32% of Quebec-

→p2

In this issue

Quebec language bill.....p3
Canada in questionp4
Women in the NDP.....p6

kers are now in favor of political independence for Quebec in the framework of continued economic association with anglophone Canada. The number of Quebecers receptive to independentism has doubled since the election of the PQ.

A large decline in the opposition to independence was also recorded. Only a bare majority (52%) in Quebec expressed opposition. The remaining 16% were undecided.

The poll indicates that the long-term growth of Quebec nationalism has not peaked with the election of the PQ but has actually been accelerated by it.

Since support for independence is strongest in the most dynamic sectors of Quebec, the labor movement and the youth, it seems likely to continue to grow. In light of these facts, Premier René Lévesque's claim that independence is inevitable can hardly be disputed.

With independentism growing, anglophone reaction to it is more serious. The findings suggest

Continued on page 2

Polls: Canadians concerned but oppose arms vs. Quebec

Continued from Page 1

the virtual impossibility of federalist politicians finding a basis to reverse Quebec independentism.

A January Gallup Poll, released by **Canadian Magazine** in April, showed that the federalist campaign has failed to stir up Canadian hysteria or chauvinism. For instance, an overwhelming 73% of Canadians, including 73% of anglophone Canadians, were opposed to keeping Quebec in Confederation by force. This suggests that armed intervention is almost totally excluded.

In a way, opposition to using force against Quebec is tantamount to recognition of its right to self-determination. The campaign to defend this right, it seems, has been won without a shot being fired.

Other results of the Gallup Poll were contradictory. Negotiations for independence with Quebec, after it has opted for independence in a referendum, was only slightly favored in the national poll (46% to 41%) with anglophones slightly against it (47% to 42%). This result reflects anglophone unease about the future of Canada after Quebec's independence. But, as mentioned above, this unease does not translate into willingness to use the army against the Québécois.

Remedial measures that federalists have proposed in order to prevent political separation were rejected by anglophones. Undoubtedly the failure of previous "concessions" led those polled to oppose giving Quebec special status by 54% to 38% and to oppose spending more money on bilingualism by 64% to 28%.

Anglophone Canadians also showed themselves prepared to live with an independent Quebec, should it come to pass. Forty five percent favored entering an economic union with an independent Quebec, with only 39% opposed. This result betrays the weak support behind Ontario Premier Davis' savage anti-Quebec sovereignty campaign.

The poll's results, by showing anglophone willingness to accept the democratic choices of the Québécois, confirm Trudeau's lament that Canadians are not "patriotic" enough.

This call to patriotism is very strange coming from Trudeau (whose own family became millionaires by selling out their business to a US corporation). Until the PQ election, Trudeau was always a staunch "internationalist", opposed to any nationalism, Canadian or Québécois. This gave a cosmopolitan polish to his continentalism, useful in soothing widespread anxieties about increasing US domination of Canada.

As a result of the Canadian establishment's fear of giving any content to Canadian nationalism over and above a distinct flag or Centennial celebration ceremonies, the nationalism that did emerge tended to be anti-government and anti-imperialist. This pool of sentiment has not provided any launching pad for federalist nationalism whose only content is manipulation of Quebec. Instead there is the possibility that Canadian nationalism, flowing as it does from resistance to American imperialism, can be won to build an independent Canada alongside an independent Quebec.

The task of translating anglophone unease about Canada's survival into actions that can assure its survival with or without Quebec, (depending entirely on the democratic choice of the Québécois) is the most pressing one before us today.

Interest in the constitutional crisis is very high as the 100,000 questionnaires mailed in to **Canadian Magazine** testify to. The situation is not leading to any substantial "red-neck" sentiment as not only the Gallup poll, but also a more recent Ontario Government poll, reveal.

The crystallization of this still formless interest and sentiment into positive change for Canada's relationship both with the United States and Quebec will result from the struggle for a representative constitutional assembly.

We don't get any ad money

With this issue of **Forward**, we announce to our readers the beginning of our annual sustaining fund drive. Our objective is \$5,000.00. We would like to reach this goal by the end of June. Already, at press time we have received pledges for over \$1900.00 of our \$5,000. total.

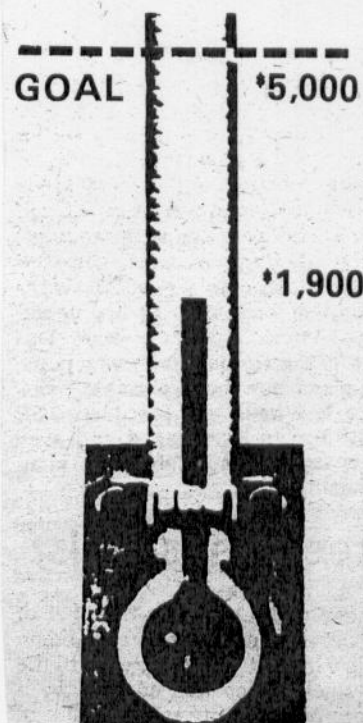
Forward needs the money. To bring the message of socialism and the socialist viewpoint on current issues to the workers of Canada costs money even if our contributors are not paid. As everyone knows prices are constantly rising. Just to give one example, our mailing costs have gone up over 66% in the last year.

To continue on a monthly basis to bring our readers such features as **Cross Country With The NDP**, a Marxist analysis of the major events in the labor movement, articles on the women's movement, and the socialist answer to such questions as rising unemployment and inflation, we need your support.

If we are to continue to expose the growing US takeover of Canadian resources, industry and land and fight for a constituent assembly as the peoples answer to the Canadian constitutional crisis, we must have your financial backing.

Send your contribution, cheque or money order to **Forward**,

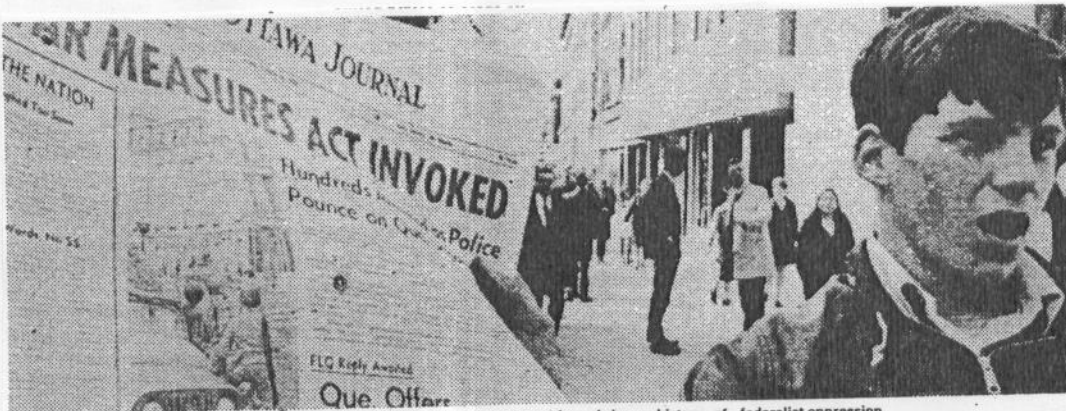
P.O. Box 778,
Adelaide St. P.O.,
TORONTO, Ontario.



Analyzing the roots of Canada's evolution

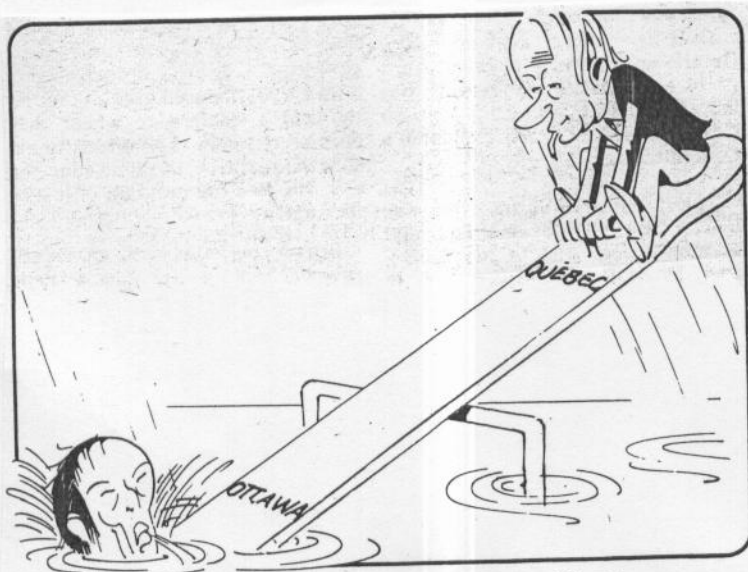
Constitutional crisis puts Canada in question

(text at W7)



The Quebec nationalist movement has been forged by a history of federalist oppression.

4 FORWARD, May 1977



Quebec refuses to submerge its national identity.



JOHN A. MACDONALD, FATHER OF CONFEDERATION:
"I admit I took the money and bribed the electors with it. Is there anything wrong about that?"

Constitutional crisis puts Canada in question

Analyzing the roots of Canada's evolution

By Ross Dowson

(from Forward, May 1977) (Part 1 of 3 articles)

The cry of Unity is echoing across the country. A flood of pronouncements issuing out of the offices of Ottawa's mandarins and from Prime Minister Trudeau himself (The Privy Council has set up a special unit, and the appointment of a Commissioner-General for National Unity is being considered) are being spread wholesale by the mass media.

Save Canada—but from what or whom? Unity—but with whom and for what? The demagoguery torn aside, what we are being asked to do is rally to the maintenance of the status quo; an admission that, for very good reason, it is falling down all around us. We are being asked to rally in resolute ranks behind the constitution, the BNA Act, glossed up as a sacred pact of the people agreed upon by the Founding Fathers only 110 years ago. Or that we should go along with those who, adopting a more reasonable approach, would consider modifying the BNA Act in some respect, possibly easing off some its centralizing aspects or by making other adjustments, but only all the more to hold onto its very essence.

Getting more to the point, it means blocking the Québécois from establishing their national sovereignty! Cool the heat from the Native People's demands for recognition of their nationhood and lands being coveted by the ecologically reckless, plundering lumber and oil moguls, and the pressures mounting from the widespread dissatisfaction with unemployment, the wage freeze, social service cutbacks, etc.

On the other hand, however, there are a growing number who consider that the time is ripe to face the facts and open a full wide-ranging discussion on every aspect of the Canadian condition and to advance towards taking all the necessary actions that would prepare a new constitution - one that would lay the basis for a Canada that could meet the challenges of the day.

There is much at stake. This is the most crucial debate in Canada's history. We are in a struggle over the minds of the people. Will they be won to support the forces for social change, or will they be led to support or at least accept what the ruling class assesses is possible to get away with in the preservation of its interests?

Success for those who cover themselves with appeals to Canadian Unity and the sacredness of the constitution can only lead to the violation of the rights of the Quebec nation, of the powers of the Quebec National Assembly and its PQ majority, to frustrate a yes vote in the referendum on Quebec sovereignty and independence. Even an insane military-police assault against the people of Quebec is not absolutely excluded.

Québécois and Native Peoples' struggles

For there should be no mistake. The November 15 PQ electoral victory was no fluke, but signaled a qualitative leap in the 200-year-long struggle for Quebec equality. A rapidly growing majority are convinced that equality can only be realized by independence. Their struggle has proved beyond all possible doubt to be an irrepressible one, making its resolution in independence, certainly in the long run, largely inevitable. No other force in Canadian society, no matter what its impact in the short run, can decide that—only the Québécois. Any repeat of the 1970 assault under the War Measures Act which was to shock Quebec into submission, would be even more counter-productive—resulting in a struggle that would tear Canada apart from coast to coast in civil war.

The fight of the Québécois to win national sovereignty over the second most highly developed sector of the Canadian economy has already raised its working class struggles to a high level of social consciousness and combativity, and will continue to pose challenges of a profoundly radical social character. The rise in anticipations of the Québécois have developed parallel to and have given added impulse to the struggles of the Native peoples, and in particular to the Dene Nation and the Inuit Tapirisat. Together the Native peoples are laying claim to a colossal slab of territory which, with the developing world energy crisis, is becoming increasingly vital to the Canadian and, for that matter, U.S. economy.

These two challenges alone have placed all previous concepts of Canada, the powers of its central government in Ottawa, provincial rights, and indeed the very foundations upon which Canada was structured, into question.

What is more, they have developed within the context of an even more general problem, which has no doubt also fueled them...the continuing erosion of Canada itself as a sovereign nation into a dependency and a satellitic relationship to the United States colossus on its southern border. The key and commanding heights of the Canadian economy are now controlled by foreign largely U.S.? imperialist interests.

As ex-Liberal leader Mel Hurtig recently expressed it, in the eight years Pierre Trudeau has been prime minister of this country. foreign ownership has grown by a greater amount than during the entire first century of Confederation. This has resulted in an outflow of dividends, interest payments and repayments on foreign investments that have skyrocketed the financial cost of production, as distinct from labor costs, from less than 3% in 1972 to 31.1% in 1975. Today Canada's external debt is greater in relation to its gross national product than crisis-wracked Britain's.

The federal government's policy to meet the grave decline in the economy through its projected New Society, has resulted in planned disemployment of over a million workers, the largest in its history. And in the hope of stimulating the economy Ottawa is removing the largely tokenist restrictions that it had earlier imposed on foreign investment. It is clearing the way for the development of the environmentally dangerous Alaskan Highway (Alcan) gas pipeline which cuts an energy corridor through Canada that is

beneficial only to the U.S. power moguls amounting to the Canadian version of the Panama Canal, furthering U.S. domination of the Canadian economy and increasingly locking it into the U.S. economy and its rulers' aims on the world political arena.

This undermining of Canadian national sovereignty has heightened longstanding regionalism which, with the rise of the PQ, has thrown both the Liberal and Tory parties of big business into turmoil where neither can claim to be truly national parties.

The unity cries, the appeals to rally to the constitution, to the BNA Act, in reality only affirm that there is a crisis of major proportions and that the constitution which only in a distorted way reflected the relationship of contending forces in 1867, now bears less and less semblance to the relationship of forces in this country today. In reality the BNA Act, still lying in the dusty files of Westminster not far from the residence of the Queen of England who was by fiat designated Canada's head of state, is nothing but a piece of paper.

The real constitution of Canada is now being reconstituted by the federal government. In its efforts to preserve as much of the status quo as possible through its appeals to the sacredness of the BNA Act of 1867 it is attempting to establish as favorable a relationship of class forces as possible for the Big Business interests it represents.

It is notable that the appeals of those who defend the Canadian constitution are completely devoid of any sweeping and lofty idealism. Canada's constitution was not forged in the flames of popular struggles or revolution. No leaders called for the mobilization of the masses in militant protests, town meetings or organized guerrilla actions, not to speak of a popular army, to end British colonialist domination. There was no Declaration of Independence or the Rights of Man. There were no Sam Adams, Patrick Henrys or even George Washingtons. The Canadian counterparts of those forces were bloodily crushed back in 1837 by the arms of the British Crown supported by the Chateau Clique and the Family Compact.

Far from being a pact between free Canadians the BNA Act was an act of law, passed not by a popular assembly here but by the imperial power of Great Britain. Confederation was a creation of the British imperial state in collusion with the heads of a colonial administration representing a nascent, dependent Canadian capitalist class. Accordingly, it aimed to block annexation to the United States. It was designed to secure British investments in the railways and open up the public treasury and cream off vast tracts of land for their expansion. It was designed to integrate the crown colonies in the West, to establish private ownership of the land which had been held in common by the Native peoples, and to open it up to the production of cheap grain to keep English mill-hands' wages competitive on the world market. Land was needed on which to dump the surplus British working class population and to develop a market for goods manufactured in the East and overseas.

The Fathers of Confederation shared a hatred and a fear of democracy. While plans

were in their preliminary stages, Canada's first Prime Minister John A. Macdonald wrote Premier Tilley of New Brunswick that it was “important that the Bill should not be finally settled until just before the meeting of the British parliament. The measure must be carried per saltum (in one leap) and no echo of it must reverberate through the British provinces till it becomes law....

The Act once passed beyond remedy, the people would soon learn to be reconciled to it.

For George-E. Cartier universal suffrage meant “mob rule” which he saw as the cause of the American Civil War of 1861—the second great American Revolution which witnessed the destruction of the Southern Slavocracy and the rise of industrial capitalism. “Our attempt,” he wrote, “was for the purpose of forming a Federation with a view of perpetuating the monarchical element...In our Federation the monarchical principle would form the leading feature, while on the other side of the lines (the U.S.)...the ruling power was the will of the mob, the rule of the populace.”

The exclusion of the farmers and urban workers from the process was based on the recognition that its terms and conditions were in clear violation of their interests. Whereas, the Province of Canada two decades earlier had won an elective legislative council, the BNA Act imposed a non-elective Senate which Macdonald cynically cracked was to protect the interests of the rich - always a minority.

The New Brunswick electors voted down the Quebec resolutions. The PEI legislature voted no to confederation. The Newfoundland government when it finally moved to agreement was defeated at the polls. The vote in Quebec was held after the new constitution had been proclaimed and was in operation. It was supported by the powerful Catholic hierarchy with the admonition of the Bishop of Rimouski: "You will respect this new constitution that is given you as the expression of the supreme will of the legislator of the legitimate authority, and consequently that of God Himself." Nonetheless the Quebec electorate returned 20 opposition members to 40 government supporters.

Federalism against self-determination

The federalist principle, conceded to Cartier by the English Canadian capitalists who actually sought a unitary state gave nothing to the concept of a bi-national state and naturally neither did such opponents of democracy concede anything to the right of self determination.

The French fact was recognized primarily by linguistic and confessional rights. In a letter to a friend Macdonald wrote that “No man in his senses, can suppose that this country can, for a century to come, be governed by a totally unFrenchified government. If a Lower Canadian British desires to conquer he must ‘stoop to conquer’ .”

Within a few years confederation was challenged both by the Indians and the Métis whose interests were completely ignored in the cynical real estate deal for the West with the Hudson's Bay Company. The republic that the Métis under Riel had set up was crushed—the language rights of the French in what subsequently became the Province of Manitoba brutally denied.

Founded on capitalist property relations, while respecting vested seigneurial rights, the new capitalist state was a semi-autonomous federation of colonial provinces under the patronage of the British capitalists. Having firmed up their interests and ridding themselves of the costs of maintaining their imperial forces, the British retained the powers of decision in foreign relations and peace and war. The colonialist connection dragged Canada behind British imperialist aggression against the Boers in South Africa. As a British dependency, over the opposition of Quebec, Canada went into World War I. While Britain lost its hegemony over Canada to the U.S., the essential satellitic character of its ruling class thrust Canada, in the face of Quebec opposition, into World War II.

Within Confederation, which sped the growth of capitalism and the power of the indigenous capitalist class, Canada evolved from a British colony, to a British dependency, to a dependency of the United States.

On the basis of the relationship of class forces prevailing in 1867, sanctified by the BNA Act, the Canadian capitalist class have since built up a complex network of repressive institutions. It ranges from the Privy Council, to the Supreme Court, to the Bar Association, from the armed forces to the RCMP, from the Canadian Manufacturers Association to the Boards of Trade, from the Rideau Club to the local Kiwanis. Along with their ownership of the means of production they constitute what can be called a system—the Canadian capitalist system.

Rise of working class organizations

Parallel to that development, and capital's own special creation, rose the working class and its organizations. In a nascent stage of development at the time of Confederation, the working class movement has developed into the most massive and potentially most powerful formation in the country. This was demonstrated in the 1972 general strike of Quebec labor and the cross-Canada October 14, 1976 Day of Protest. It has developed an increasing consciousness of its needs through the formation of the NDP as its political arm. Its aim, as expressed in Labor's Manifesto adopted at the 1976 CLC convention, is the wresting of "power from business and its government in the interests of labor" in order to institute "a system of national and economic planning." This is a key component of the new reality.

It is not excluded that with Trudeau and its other leading spokesmen, the system can succeed in mobilizing sufficient support, through a policy of confrontation linked to limited concessions, to slow down and even to temporarily divert the forces that seek a restructuring of Canada in harmony with its real needs and the present relationship of forces in the country. But the odds that have long favored the frustration of the

mounting democratic process are less favorable than they have ever been before. In Quebec the forces of the status quo are in disarray and have been pushed back into a defensive position all down the line. The tide appears to be running, so that it is possible to visualize not only the realization of the central aim of the PQ—the establishment of national sovereignty—but fundamental changes in the system itself in Quebec. It is now widely understood, by even those who oppose separation, that it is the right of the Québécois to self-determination up to and including separation and that it is a violation of elementary democracy to deny it. Besides, the declared social aims of the PQ and the social reforms that it is implementing have won wide support across the country.

The demands of the Native movements have struck a broad support among the Canadian people who are increasingly concerned about ecological dangers and are for the planned and social utilization of the natural resources long said to be the property of the entire nation. Native land claims are not at all an infringement on their popular accessibility but are directed to their control against the well-known ravages that have been perpetrated by the robber barons and monopoly capitalists—from Reed Paper to Imperial Oil.

The rise of the Quebec and Native peoples' struggle have opened the way for all the other broad and popular democratic forces to intervene and to help shape the country to the form they think necessary. The widespread opposition to U.S. domination of the Canadian economy and its linkage to the global strategies of U.S. imperialism, the broadening women's rights movement, the movements for freedom of sexual orientation and freedom of choice on childbearing, the prisoners' rights movements, and above all the trade union movement.

It is now possible to move out on a massive scale to commence the building of a new Canada. The appeals for unity and to save Canada are designed to block this opportunity, at best to dribble out a few concessions which have as their purpose to preserve the undemocratic essence of the BNA Act and the entire superstructure that capitalism has built upon it.

The growing support for the call for a Constituent Assembly must take on massive proportions and the whole process for its realization must rapidly get underway.

The profoundly democratic demand for a Constituent Assembly must become a physical reality. It would provide a vast public forum, an arena for the exchange of all ideas about all the problems and possibilities confronting Canada. It would provide the basis for a consensus that would result in the drafting of a provisional constitution. And it would provide elections that would assure representation in a popular assembly of every and all viewpoints that would keep all options open for an advancing Canada.

(End of Part 1 of 3) (Part 2 - See 1977-July-Forward No. 28)

Workers' Committees proposed in Parti Québécois bill

Charter establishes French-language rights

by John Morgan

The Parti Québécois' Bill No.1, the Charter on the French Language, promises to change the map of North America as much as would the victory of its referendum on an independent Quebec. Justifiably, the PQ sees the struggle for a French Quebec as a means of achieving independence.

When Camille Laurin, PQ Minister of State for Cultural Development announced government policy requiring all corporations in Quebec to undergo "francisation", and making French the sole official language in the courts and the National Assembly, as well as obliging all future immigrant children, including Anglophones, to attend French schools, he struck a deep chord of satisfaction among not only PQ militants but the Québécois population as a whole.

That the PQ is seriously mobilizing to overturn English as the dominant language of commerce was shown by the White Paper (preceding the Bill). It called for committees of workers to be formed by unions or by workers in each workplace to monitor the progress of francisation in their companies. This is the only practical way the US-dominated plants and offices of Quebec can be transformed into those of a French-speaking nation.

The Charter is a ringing nationalist manifesto, stating "the French language is, and was always the language of the people of Quebec, and it is this language which enables them to express their identity." It categorically rejects bilingualism as a federalist "smoke-screen," declaring that it wishes to make Quebec as French as the rest of Canada is English.

French alone will be used in public life—in the municipalities and the school boards (unless material is issued for English-language media). Although Anglophones may elect to use their language in the legislature and in court, the French version alone will have legal status. In the case of Montreal-West, which is 90% anglophone, there will be a six-year period given to adjust to the language order.

At work, no francophone may be fired or demoted for being unilingual and no conditions of language knowledge other than ability in French may be imposed unless the job requires it, with the burden of proof resting on the employer. The Bill however makes a partial exemption for head offices of companies operat-



The momentum of the PQ victory moves forward to a French Quebec.

ing outside Quebec.

Only children whose parents have had English schooling in Quebec, or who are already enrolled or who have brothers or sisters already enrolled in English schools are exempt from attending French schools under the Charter. Parents must request enrolment in English schools, and diplomas are awarded to graduates only if they pass oral and written tests proving some ability in French.

Immigrant groups which had sabotaged the previous Liberal government's Bill 22 which exempted anglophone children from French schools and submitted their children to language tests, gave support to the Charter. A Greek community leader stated he would prefer to be able to send his children to English schools, but he said "it wouldn't be realistic. We have to respect the aspirations of the Quebec majority." For its equal treatment of all immigrants, the Charter won support also from the National Italo-Canadian Congress.

The labor and nationalist movement enthusiastically welcomed the bill, with some lingering hesitation over the mention of Anglophone "rights". Quebec Federation of Labor vice-president Fernand Daoust urged workers "to involve them-

selves in the process of francisation of their companies."

In contrast, the rump Liberal Party caucus reacted sharply. John Caccia complained: "The PQ has de facto separated Quebec from the rest of Canada," and interim Liberal leader Gérard Lévesque termed the Charter "totalitarian, vengeful." Another cried "You don't have the right to trample on the freedom of the individual as you are doing" when the PQ announced that laborers working for the government would be required to know some French. PQ leader René Lévesque replied that a "grandfather clause" would exempt older English workers from speaking French, explaining "it's not a question of preventing people from earning a livelihood, on condition they do so in an acceptable manner for the culture of the majority."

The Liberal attack harmonized with the declaration of war which came from Quebec's large US and branch-plant corporations. Montreal Board of Trade president Bernard J. Finestone called the White Paper "the death sentence" for Quebec business, threatening that his member corporations would rather move out than yield to the PQ's attempts to "tamper" with their operations here. He rejected the idea that head office personnel could be made to reflect the Québécois majority. Nor, he said, would business accept representatives of organized labor on their boards of directors to supervise the implementation of francisation pro-

grams.

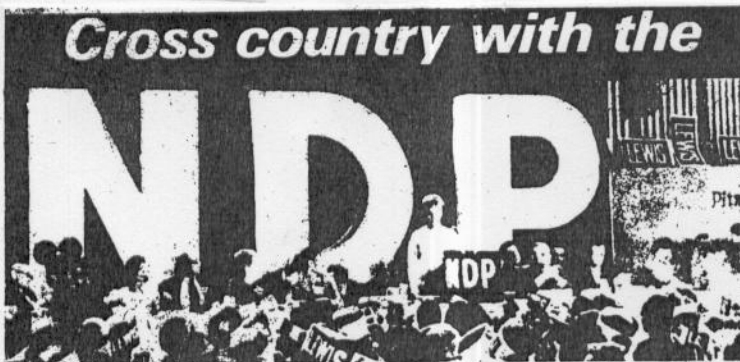
Royal Bank of Canada president Earle McLaughlin, who heads a 95% anglophone head office in Montreal, stated flatly that his bank cannot operate in a French unilingual environment since, according to him, the international language of banking is English. He thereby reveals that he never did accept that Quebec was "bilingual territory"—in fact, his view is that the bank is not Canadian at all, but an international enterprise.

The constitutionality of the Charter was immediately challenged by McGill University professor Frank Scott, who characterized it as "another example of harassment and persecution of the English community." PQ Minister Laurin retorted that if Ottawa declared the Charter illegal, Quebec would not heed the decision. Prime Minister Trudeau, however, beyond cracking that the bill would put Quebec back in "the dark ages" was very cautious, realizing as he does the urgent social nature of the language question.

If Parti Québécois militants expected action on a public auto insurance plan, or measures to create jobs or lower taxes, the first budget was a big disappointment. Finance Minister Parizeau cut back severely on Quebec's borrowing in an effort to stabilize the debt-ridden provincial apparatus, geared under the Liberals to massive hydro power export projects like James Bay and to financing profiteering construction companies which built the Olympic and Expo projects.

The PQ government took over part of auto insurance on a "no fault" basis, but left the private companies' role largely intact, pleading financial inability to launch a full state-owned scheme. A job program introduced was purely token, and although family allowances were raised slightly, a sales tax was imposed on children's clothing.

Although most militants will accept for the time being Parizeau's promise to carry out the PQ program in the future on the basis of sound finances, the expectations of the rank-and-file will increase pressure for immediate reforms. The militants are being confronted with the question, early in the life of their new government, of what kind of independent Quebec they want; for whom the economy is to benefit. It is the beginning of a crash course in politics for the Québécois, already in the vanguard of the movement for social change in North America.



by Wayne Roberts

Debate over Quebec

John Harney, former NDP MP, is touring NDP riding associations in a campaign promoting the idea of a popular constituent assembly. A former Ontario NDP provincial secretary and federal party leadership contender, Harney is preparing for a debate on Quebec at the upcoming federal NDP convention.

Harney is calling for the affirmation of the NDP's adopted positions on Quebec. Specifically, he favors a new constitution to recognize the fact Canada is composed of two nations (which is the adopted position of the 1961 convention).

Also, Harney has come to sponsor the Committee for a New Constitution (the statement of the CNC is printed in this issue).

"We do have a history, a will to survive and a culture of our own. We should start stating this, we are not dependent on others for being here and this will enable us to negotiate with that other entity, Quebec. (Negotiations) that must be based on the principle of parity or mutual accord for the purpose of writing basic law, i.e. a new constitution." In addition Harney stated that, "People must be prepared to participate in the writing of the constitution....We are a people who have never been involved in the basic law which defines our relationships."

This is a position puts John Harney in sharp opposition to the NDP leadership who provide the

doubtful service of tailending Trudeau's federalist position.

During the St. David's riding association meeting, a small grouping in the audience challenged Harney for not defending the right of self-determination for Quebec. In reply, Harney offered to start any subsequent meeting with a chant on self-determination similar to the ritual he was subjected to in his youth, when, in the Catholic Church he used to say "et cum spiritu tu" in reply to the priest's "dominus nobiscum." While not the focus of his remarks, Harney nevertheless based his position on the principle of self-determination and dismissed the objections as "simplistic."

Harney did not indulge in illusions about the possibilities of convincing the Québécois to remain within Confederation. The CNC statement which Harney endorsed leaves open the option of independence for Quebec.

In identifying himself to the left of the NDP leadership, Harney went on to say, "As socialists this is a first step. We could do all this and still live in a bourgeois society."

His idea of a constituent assembly is one that goes beyond the bounds of mere tinkering with federal relations in Canada and goes to the root of the problems by calling for "a total democratic involvement in the shaping of a constitution (which) requires a constituent assembly."

Lewis squirms on Que.

Once Ontario Premier Davis decided to bring his minority Tory government to defeat in the legislature, he looked for an issue that could really provoke the opposition. With the NDP, he knew exactly where to hit. The NDP is soft on separatism, he charged. They are even willing to maintain economic relations with a politically independent Quebec.

The NDP's front bench erupted in anger. Lewis himself was so shaken that he considered that "I might not like him (Davis) as much as before." In his characteristic style he later commented: "I was really offended by the implication of the premier's that somehow we were prepared to countenance some form of economic association. That was not worthy of William Davis."

Are we to surmise that the NDP leadership would favor sabotaging a nation which will decide by referendum if it wants independence? Stephen Lewis has called for a civilized and heartfelt national debate on Quebec's future. "It must not be insulting or emotionally petulant or we will shore up every separatist instinct," he has argued. But if their "separatist instincts" get the better of them, will he urge the NDP to join in a campaign of vengeance? The NDP has long opposed the measures of US imperialism in boycotting the economies of Cuba and China. Will they set different standards for a nation which merely declares its political independence?

Indeed the NDP leadership has been running fast to keep up with the redneck hysteria that leading Liberals and Tories are trying to foster. Although national leader Ed Broadbent admitted to a federal council meeting that the NDP caucus had been wrong in their position during the air traffic controllers' strike—he had been caught up in the hysteria a

round the phony and falsely presented safety issue, he conceded—other leading NDP spokesmen are still rushing to judgements based on distorted and incomplete reporting of English-Canadian dailies. David Lewis, for instance, has argued that the PQ language bill contains clauses appealing to "a vengeful urge to put the Anglos in their place." There is a danger, he said, "that loyalty degenerated into chauvinism and that tension be escalated into bitter conflict." This is pure parroting of mass-media hysteria. Unfortunately, the statement is not out of keeping with the Ontario NDP caucus support of Tories to investigate and challenge the constitutionality of Quebec's language legislation.

Within the ranks of the NDP, however, there are prospects of a new approach. In preparation for the upcoming federal convention, several ridings have passed resolutions favoring self-determination for Quebec. This is at least a beginning.

Many discussions in the NDP reveal profound unease and honestly-felt uncertainty. The recent Alberta convention for instance affirmed Quebec's right to self-determination, while re-affirming "its goal to build a united socialist federal Canada."

One resolution passed at this March convention of 531 delegates was especially interesting. Passed by a large majority, it proclaimed "that the main threat to Canada still comes from the US multinationals, rather than from Quebec separatism."

The main direction of Canadian nationalism, which is deeply rooted in the NDP, is opposition to US imperialism. It cannot for long be herded into a federalist camp of clichés holding out a false promise that the 110 year-old BNA Act can serve as an instrument of the Canadian people's needs.



ONDP women project party as force in women's movement

by Nadine Macdonald

Over 70 women from all regions of Ontario met on the weekend of April 23-24 to revitalize the existing but inoperative structure of the Ontario New Democratic Party's Women's Committee.

The significance of this event was marked not only by the fact that greetings were sent to the conference by NDP Women's groups in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Alberta, by the President of CUPE, Grace Hartman, and delivered by the president of the party—Jim Turk; but also by the fact that Rosemary Brown, MLA for Vancouver-Burrard and the most prominent feminist in the British Columbia NDP Women's Committee, delivered the keynote address to the conference.

Brown's speech outlined the history and experiences of the NDP Women's Committee in British Columbia from its reactivation in 1971, when the Royal Commission on the Status of Women brought forth its recommendations on the "woman question", to the issuance of a Women's Rights Manifesto in 1974 which was delivered to the BC Provincial Convention of the NDP.

The Manifesto was the Women's Committee's way of drawing attention to the contemptuous disregard of party policy by the NDP government. The principle of a Ministry of Women's Rights was adopted at a convention as a priority of an NDP government. But the Barrett leader-

ship turned its back on the faithful base of the party and betrayed it. However, the women in the BC committee have bounced back and recently held a conference where they decided to renew their efforts to ensure that the NDP could be educated and won to a full program of justice for women.

Brown concluded with an activist appeal: "It is the task of feminists to place our expertise as victims of oppression at the disposal of the party, to ensure that the NDP remains in the forefront of the women's liberation struggle."

Her remarks set the tone for the conference which was on the theme "From Ideology to Action: How to Make the ONDP Women's Committee Work". A new constitution was proposed and accepted as a workable document which would enable wo-

men inside the party to become activated, and which would bring the work of the NDP and especially the NDP women's committee to groups outside the party. As well, a monthly newsletter will be sent to all members of the Women's Committee keeping them informed of issues and events of importance.

The conference marked a turning point in the direction of the politics of the Women's Committee. It now sees itself as a dynamic group ready to "participate with women outside the party in areas of mutual interest, and to encourage these women to join the Party and work within the Party". The first test of this new committee will be the CARAL demonstration on May 28. It is time for the women of the Ontario New Democratic Party to learn from our sisters in BC and become a political force.

Feminism vs. NDP?

Priorities, the lively and controversial magazine of the British Columbia NDP Women's Committee, has built up a widely-based and committed readership since the days when the NDP formed the government there. Faced with financial and political problems over the last few months, certain elements have been proposing leaving the NDP. As yet, the positions have not been clarified; certainly they have not offered a rounded alternative.

The January-February issue carries a reply to these suggestions from Cynthia Flood, one of the magazine's editors.

Flood does not hold out any false promises for the NDP. "I do not claim that it is an, or the only, organization which will eventually achieve the changes that we as women want—or that we should be active in the NDP only—or that we should hold some blind faith that it will 'change'—or that the party structure is receptive to the organizational philosophies of feminism—or that the leadership is or could be committed to the goals of feminism and socialism as we see them." Indeed, Flood's conception of an NDP orientation envisions both active work in the women's movement generally and determined efforts to fight within the NDP for needed changes.

Flood rests her case on the social base of the NDP in the working class movement. "If we accept the basic socialist thesis that real and lasting social change can only be achieved through the mass political activity of the working class, then the Labour Party is not a formation whose existence and activities we can ignore or abstain from."

She argues that the job of the Women's Committee within the NDP "is to develop women's liberation policy, to explain it, educate around it, win real support for it and, in situations where the NDP holds governmental office, to fight for its implementation... By engaging in these struggle within the labour party, we are taking the causes of feminism and socialism into the heart of the force which ultimately will decide the political future of this country."

It is in this spirit that she concludes: "We can't win a battle by walking off the battlefield."



At the recent Alta. NDP convention, a resolution to delete all mention of abortion policy was soundly defeated. The convention overwhelmingly voted to retain the party's stance on a woman's right to choose.



Manitoba NDP government refuses to back Winnipeg steelworkers against compulsory overtime imposed by US corporation.

Steel brass, NDP, CLC leave union in lurch

The militant struggle being waged by the workers of Griffin Steel in Winnipeg is winning the respect and support of widening layers of union activists in the area. It has embarrassed the NDP government heads who have not so much as uttered a protest against the police assaults on sit-down pickets and their continued escort of scabs through the picket line.

But it has also embarrassed the leadership of the Manitoba Federation of Labor and CLC president Joe Morris.

The seven month long strike against the US-owned company is being led by the independent Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers. The CAIMAW first came to public attention when it won certification against Steel for the workers at the giant Kitimat, BC Alcan operation. This and other incidents have made the Steel leadership the chief antagonist of national unions (Canadian based) as against international (US based) unions.

The Manitoba Federation of Labor through its President Nels Thibault, former Mine Mill leader but now with Steel, has felt called upon to attempt an explanation of its failure to support the harassed Griffin workers in the light of its declared opposition to strikebreaking. Accompanying the MFL letter to all locals was another by the CLC President Joe Morris. Morris called upon CLC affiliates to urge the government to act in the interests of the workers no matter what union is involved, however, he warned that CLC unions giving financial support to the Griffin strikers would only be putting money into the coffers of CAIMAW and thereby supporting defectors from what the brass likes to call "the legitimate trade union movement."

It is to be hoped that Winnipeg militants will not be diverted by these sectarian arguments and will give the strikers the support they need to win against the Griffin steel bosses.

May Day rallies show labor militancy

by Calvin Johansson

"We didn't expect nearly half this many people", Sam Fox, President, Labor Council of Metro Toronto, apologized as more chairs were hurriedly added to seat the more than 400 trade unionists who turned out for the May Day rally held in a cramped, smokey, hall at 25 Cecil St.

For the second year, the Labor Council of Metro Toronto sponsored a May Day rally to signify Canadian workers' solidarity with other workers around the world.

Representatives of trade unionists from Spain, Chile and Argentina spoke. However, the rally was a low key affair, especially when compared to the enthusiasm and size of rallies in Montreal, Vancouver and Winnipeg. Little prior notice of the meeting was given to workers in the Toronto area.

The attendance, a big increase over last year's May Day rally, attests to the significance and importance that May Day represents to a growing number of workers throughout Canada. With the success of this rally, hopefully, other labor councils in Ontario will take the lead from Toronto and the Toronto Labor Council will begin to plan a May Day rally and celebration on a permanent yearly basis as is done by workers throughout the world.

Alcan gas pipeline: new Panama Canal

The NEB decision in favor of the Alcan gas pipeline route over the Mackenzie proposal is proving to be a pyrrhic victory for native rights, conservation and Canadian independence. The trade-off for Berger's scuttling of the Canadian Arctic Gas route is the pipeline route of its spawn, the Foothills consortium: through Alaska from Prudhoe Bay, across the northeast corner of BC and across the southern Yukon, and south through Alberta to deliver U.S. Arctic gas.

Although the NEB stipulated that the Alcan route must allow for a possible, future connection to a Canadian gas pipeline along the Mackenzie Valley, no in-depth study has been made of the problems associated with this route. On the contrary, the federal government has instructed the Lysyk inquiry into a southern Yukon pipeline to accomplish the equivalent of Berger's three-year study in three months!

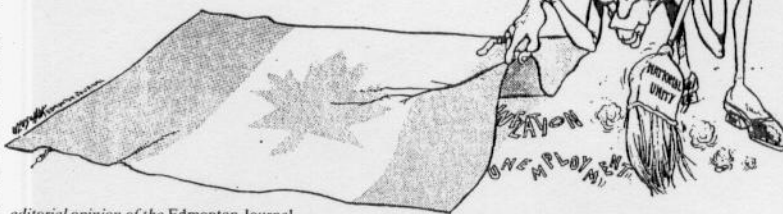
Trudeau's commitment to the U.S. state department's Sept. 1 deadline for a Canadian pipeline for their gas translates into heavy public pressure to bypass the Council of Yukon Indians' land claims. Thus, the continental vise is tightening around an energy corridor amounting to the Canadian version of the Panama Canal.

The June issue of *The Nutcracker*, the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship insert in the *Alberta Democrat*, warns: "...we now see many of those who wholeheartedly support Berger espousing the cause of the 'Alcan' pipeline... Included here are... the federal leader of the NDP, Ed Broadbent, and the Alberta leader, Grant Notley.

"Admittedly Notley does add a couple of provisos: one, that financing be entirely from U.S. sources and, the second, that the U.S. release Canada from a portion of its oil and gas export commitment...

"So, in the euphoria of the report,

Away with unemployment and inflation



editorial opinion of the Edmonton Journal

and with one major social, environmental and economic catastrophe avoided, people who should know better are opting for the lesser of two evils... Basically everything that Berger said about Mackenzie applies to Alcan."

"We cannot afford to be smug," the article concludes. "Socialists in Canada have yet to come to a proper understanding of world environmental problems in relation to economic and social conditions. Certainly the capitalist parties are grossly cynical.

"Unless we wish to be other than hypocritical, socialists have some real heartsearching decisions ahead of them."

Constitutional assembly call gains new endorsers

by Abbie Weisfeld

The Committee for a New Constitution (CNC) which has issued a call (reprinted in our May issue) for a constituent assembly to formulate a new constitution for English Canada while recognizing the right being exercised by the Québécois to deter-

ding liberal and left side of Quebec.

endorsers include: Paul ve Director, Association Publishers; Mar-riter, Alliston; J. H. gina; Edith Fowke, fish, Toronto; Paul-ident, Simon Fraser abv: Myrna Kostash

→P2

That assumption is one of the many myths exposed in recent weeks by a series of revelations regarding the RCMP, the local and provincial police forces. Each, supposedly a support on which our structure of justice rests, has in fact been shown to be a bedrock on which our system of repression reigns.

Now that this system of justice has been shown wanting, what is the state's reaction? To recommend giving its forces of repression even wider discretionary powers through liberalizing undercover police access to wiretaps.

This recommendation was put forth by Justice Minister Ronald Basford in the wake of the CBC-TV revelations concerning the existence of organized crime in Canada. Yet given the actions of the police forces revealed in recent weeks one can only wonder at the government's motives in pursuing such a course of action.

Consider this: in recent revelations regarding l'Agence de presse libre du Québec and the Praxis Corp. the RCMP was shown to have been involved in or to have abetted burglaries for the purpose of constructing blacklists and maintaining surveillance on forces considered by Mr. Goyer, the former Solicitor-General of Canada, to be 'extra-parliamentary oppositions.'

And what were these "oppositions" engaged in? Bombings perhaps? Terrorist kidnappings? Calls to organized violence? No, none of these things.

L'Agence de presse libre du Québec (APLQ) was a small news agency with a left orientation engaged primarily in investigative research and political portage. The Praxis Corp. was an activist group attempting to organize Canada's poor into an effective political group. It helped groups such as the Just Society, Metro Tenants Association and Stop Spadina Expressway organize their campaigns.

At APLQ, files regarding separatists (many of whom are probably now duly elected representatives of large constituencies in Quebec) and "FLQ-style" radicals were seized.

Continued on page 3

Berger's report poses need for socialist planning

by Gord Donnelly

BC Supreme Court Justice Thomas Berger's first report in his commission of inquiry into the advisability of constructing a natural gas pipeline to transport Arctic gas down the Mackenzie Valley route dealt a body blow to the project of the biggest gas and oil monopolies in Canada. His recommendation that no Mackenzie Valley pipeline be built until native land claims become settled with allowance for a 10-year moratorium, so that the northern native communities can absorb the social transition, created a blowout which threatens to

Ont. NDP & public ownership

by the Editors

Stephen Lewis' dumping of the Ontario NDP program for public ownership of the natural resource industries during Ontario's recent election was an unparalleled retreat from progressive and socialist ideas. This part of the NDP program arose out of the Waffle's triumphant programmatic struggle under the banner "For an Independent and Socialist Canada." It was again adopted by NDP delegates at the last convention in recognition of the need for nationalization and a planned economy to serve the interests of Canadian working people. It was widely recognized by the party base—especially as a result of the nationalist sentiment permeating the radical and labor movement—that the resource sector in Canada represented a substantially foreign-owned, unplanned, polluting and exploitative industry, destroying the physical beauty of Ontario and Canada, threatening the long term economic security of future generations and literally killing workers in pursuit of profit. By adopting this resolution, the party base gave recognition to the principle of human need against the profit motive of the corporations in which all considerations—men's lives, conservation and economic control of Canada's resources by Canadians—were secondary to maximizing capital.

In Ontario as elsewhere in Canada, the nickel and copper mines, the forest industry, energy cartels and development companies associated with them have left hundreds of workers dead, crippled and dying because of substandard safety procedures. They have turned lakes once sparkling with fish and clear as the sky into brown pools of lifeless pollution. Sudbury, Elliot Lake—all the major towns of northern Ontario—to one extent or another are the casualties of the reckless destructiveness of this economic sector.

Yet these industries, so unconcerned about the quality of life they destroy, are very concerned about the quantity of their profits. Tax deferrals, capital cost allowances, exploration bonuses, provincial relocation grants, subsidized research, low tax rates and a parade of tax lawyers' dodges have meant hundreds of millions of dollars of un-

taxed profits.

Why such favoritism—in tax policy and in enforcing regulations—to the resource industry?

The fact is that U.S. capital dominates a good part of the resource industry and U.S. capital gets treated "with respect" by the Canadian state.

Yet Lewis retreated from the challenge of explaining (and motivating) the adopted program of the New Democratic Party. He could have pointed out that a good part of Ontario's natural resources, energy in particular, was already under public ownership without the economic devastation that Tory leader Davis predicted. He could have pointed out that this industry was such a drain on government corrective spending and was the source of so many tax grants and funding subsidies that the government might as well take over its assets since it has practically assumed the industries' liabilities already.

He could have argued that companies which arrogantly ignore minimal safety standards and regulations thereby playing havoc with the lives of workers are an appropriate target for government expropriation. He could and should have argued that the people of Canada have a right to assert their ownership of the wealth of this country, the forests and lakes, the gold and iron and copper and other minerals in the earth in order to protect, preserve and advance their proper use when private capital fails to do so.

He could have solidarized the party with the national polls that indicated an absolute majority of Canadians in favor of public ownership of some energy resource industries—a fact substantiating the radical impetus in the nationalist drive for recovery of Canada's natural resources from the predatory grasp of U.S. corporations.

Yet Lewis did none of these. Through his opportunist cringing, he deserted socialism and compromised the party at the polls. Has the need for a socialist alternative to Lewis and his heirs-apparent ever been greater?

→P3

Canadian constitution

D. 2

mine their own future, has recently announced further endorsers of their call. The CNC has brought together many of the leading liberal and left intellectuals outside of Quebec.

The latest endorsers include: Paul Audley; Executive Director, Association of Canadian Publishers; Margaret Atwood, writer, Alliston; J. H. Brocklebank, Regina; Edith Fowke, professor of English, Toronto; Pauline Jewett, president, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby; Myrna Kostash, writer, Edmonton; Christina Newman, writer, Toronto; Al Purdy, writer, Ameliasburgh, Ont.; H. Lukin Robinson, economist, Toronto; Richard Simeon, associate professor of political studies, Kingston; Andreas Schroeder, writer, Mission, B.C.; Clara Thomas, professor of English, Toronto; Paul Thomas, professor of political studies, Winnipeg.

Other sponsors not listed in the previous issue of FORWARD were: Gregory Baum, professor of religious studies, Toronto; David R. Cameron, professor of political studies, Peterborough; S. M. Crean, writer, Toronto; Michael Cross, professor of history, Halifax; Gerry Geddes, writer-in-residence, Edmonton; Bruce Hodgins, professor of history, Peterborough; Douglas Myers, professor of education, Halifax; John Meisel, professor of political studies, Kingston; William Neville, associate professor, political studies, Winnipeg; George Rawlyk, professor of history, Kingston; Andy Robb, Charlottetown; Ben Shek, professor of French, Toronto; Tom Sloan, Ottawa; Hugh Thorburn, professor of political studies, Kingston.

The existence and wide-ranging list of sponsors of the CNC is the most significant product of the debate that is taking place across Canada under the impact of the Parti Québécois victory of November 15, 1976.

One critic of the CNC, Larry Pratt, a political science professor at the University of Alberta, refused to sign the statement saying: "I find 'it somewhat contradictory that those who have fought such a long and good fight against the absorption of Canada into continentalism should now be prepared to accept so easily and even to endorse, its destruction from within. To me, this is a triumph of guilt and/or ideology over plain

good sense."

But it is precisely the awareness and political lessons learned in the fight for a Canada free from U.S. domination which has led many of the CNC signatories to respect the right of the Québécois to proceed with their own battle for national independence. The alienation of the Québécois from the English, predominantly U.S. corporate rulers in Quebec industry and commerce is not unrelated to the same anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment in anglophone Canada, and not derived from some national exclusiveness on the part of the Québécois themselves.

Contrary to the declamations emanating from those who regard Canadian nationalism to be a phenomenon contrived by Trudeau to use as a tool in his anti-PQ campaign, the signers of the CNC-statement, who include prominent spokespeople for Canadian nationalism, have come to appreciate the existence of a distinct nationalism in Quebec.

The extent of the constitutional crisis in Canada is visible in the breadth of support for the demand for a new constitution and a constituent assembly to formulate such a proposed constitution. A national assembly of "outstanding Canadians from all walks of life" to draft a new constitution and a national referendum to accept or reject it were even proposed by the federal Revenue Minister Monique Bégin. The *Toronto Star* has called for the establishment of "A Committee to Save Canada" to propose a revised constitution. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* supports a commission of enquiry to conduct hearings into the crisis. The Ontario Tories have recently held a "Destiny Canada Destinée" conference at York University in Toronto. Despite the pretensions of the conference organizers in purporting to select conference delegates "representative of the broad spectrum of society in each province", the "national consultative panel" itself in fact was dominated by such sterling Canadian representatives of the establishment as M. F. Belanger, Director of the Canadian International Paper Company (U.S. controlled); H. S. Millican, executive director of the Canadian Petroleum Association; Dr. Catherine Wallace, director of

Maritime Tel. & Tel. Co. Ltd. as well as the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce; R. J. Bilodeau, chairman of the Board, Honeywell Ltd.; Wm. Daniel, president, Shell Canada Ltd. and last but not least, token labor representative Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Automobile Workers.

A comparison of the projections for a constitutional assembly raised by the Ontario Government and the CNC reveals that the first question to be dealt with in the national debate is, who speaks for Canada: the present corporate rulers who have failed to respect the national aspirations of Quebec as well as aiding and abetting the U.S. takeover of Canada, or the overwhelming majority of Canadians, the working people, who have been producing the wealth of this society and yet are denied any significant control over their lives and the destiny of the country?

It is clear that the Native peoples, unions, Acadians, unorganized workers and the vast majority of Canadians need to make their voices heard on the questions of Canadian independence, Quebec independence and Canadian unity. These debates can result in a generalized politicization of this country, impelled as they are by the decisiveness of the Québécois' determination to establish sovereignty, the growing awareness and opposition to the effects of U.S. encroachment in all spheres of Canadian life and the bankruptcy of the two pro-capitalist parties. But as the renewed desire to place the future of this country in the hands of the majority of Canadians deepens, a drawback in this process becomes self-evident; the pro-federalist and anti-Quebec independence policies of the present leaders of the New Democratic Party. As the political party of Canada's working class, the powerless minorities and the dispossessed in this country, the NDP's posture of hanging on to Trudeau's federalist coat-tails fails to relate to the debate about Canada's future with a positive alternative. New Democrats are obliged to organize within the party to reverse its present federalist stance and to identify with the Québécois in the struggle for independence from the grasp of Canadian and U.S. capitalism.

Berger inquiry poses new Canadian future

p. 3

devastate the fragile policy environment of the secluded corporate boardrooms of the U.S.-based "Canadian" oil companies that comprise Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd. (headed by Imperial, Shell, and Gulf).

Certainly the Trudeau government must have felt they knew their man when they appointed ex-NDP leader Berger in 1974 to head this commission and face a mushrooming militant native peoples' movement. Probably, the Trudeau leadership had thought their previous action in appointing Berger to the BC Supreme Court had corroded some of the passionate humanitarianism that he had exhibited in his distinguished career as a native rights lawyer in BC. Cynically, they likely had thought to capitalize on Berger's reputation while setting the stage for their corporate friends.

The inquiry, however, turned out to be a profound departure in Canadian politics. For three years, the commission held public, open hearings right across Canada. In the north-west, for the first time in Canadian history, a commission travelled into all the communities, both remote and small, and heard uninhibited testimony in the languages of the Dene peoples, which include Métis and treaty and non-status Indians. There, Berger learned first-hand that both the Dene and Inuit peoples were solidly opposed to the historically familiar development which would displace their independent and self-sufficient existence with the alien pattern of the wage economy.

Rather than become strangers in their own land—dependent, destitute, and degraded—some vowed to defend their land with their lives.

The serious threat of civil war and environmental damage over a pipeline whose economic necessity is dubious led Berger to proclaim: "The risk is in Canada. The urgency is in the United States." He described the considerable harm the pipeline would cause to the delicate ecology of the north, its great potential for serious disruption of migratory bird patterns (which affect the balance of nature as far south as California and South America), and the fact that Canada has alternative routes and options to satisfy its energy needs. The pressure for a decision now comes from the U.S. government and the imperialist energy corporations who want to create in the Mackenzie Valley—or alternatively through the southern Yukon along the Alaska Highway (the Alcan route)—an international energy corridor version of the Panama Canal for their Alaskan gas supplies.

Yet, expert testimony brought before the commission pointed out that Canada currently has an oversupply of natural gas. Furthermore, part of the so-called natural gas shortage is due to the Liberal government's previous over-commitment of vast quantities of Canadian gas to the U.S. market at very cheap prices. The government-created National Energy Board was responsible for this when it acted as the corporations' accomplice in accepting their early 1970's estimates of huge energy reserves.

On the other hand, the current domestic surfeit of gas is attributed to the fact that it is overpriced in rela-

tion to oil. In order to justify the pipeline for Canadian needs, Canadian Arctic Gas wants the government to manipulate gas prices lower to stimulate Canadian demand. (At the same time, it wants the Bank of Canada to inflate the money supply so that the banking system would be able to accommodate the financing requirements of Arctic Gas.) Otherwise, the only visible justification for the Mackenzie Valley pipeline would be the economic interests of the U.S. government and the foreign corporations.

Canadian Arctic Gas presented the pipeline as an interconnection of lines which would bring Canadian gas from Inuvik in the Mackenzie Delta and U.S. gas from Prudoe Bay, Alaska. The idea was that this would be a good deal for Canadians because we couldn't justify the enormous cost of the pipeline on the basis of the reserves at Inuvik even assuming there was a genuine Canadian demand for it. Only by combining with U.S. gas volumes could it be justified economically. Ostensibly, northerners would gain in terms of employment opportunities, although Berger pointed out that the native economy and the mining and government sectors would scarcely be affected by cancelling the pipeline.

Berger opposed the U.S. pipeline link across the northern Yukon on environmental grounds and recommended preserving this area as a national wildlife sanctuary.

In reality, the confrontation is between the prospect of an independent and socialist Canada against the continentalist, capitalist system which makes of Canada a prison-house of oppressed peoples, ravages everything human and natural in its unquenchable pursuit of profit—including the national interest, which they claim to defend, the layers outside the wage economy, and above all its chief nemesis, the working class whose labor it exploits through production and wage controls and monopoly-controlled prices. On the one side, we have the Dene

and Inuit, the trade union movement and the NDP; on the other, we have the imperialist corporations and the parties of big business, Liberals, Tories, and Socreds. This array of forces represents the class struggle.

As opposed to the Trudeau government's subservience to the U.S. government's deadline for a pipeline decision by September 1—whether a Mackenzie Valley route or the Alcan pipeline route along the west coast—Berger's appeal is to the needs of Canadians: "We have never had to determine what is the most intelligent use to make of our resources. We never had to consider restraint. Will we continue, driven by technology and egregious patterns of consumption, to deplete our energy resources wherever and whenever we find them? Upon this question depends the future of northern native people and their environment." Until the Berger commission, the people most affected rarely had any influence in such decisions.

Berger presents an alternative for Canada. He states that we can take our time and plan with the native peoples the transitional social forms necessary for them to retain control over the land and, at the same time, co-operate to effect harmonious national industrial development. His solution to the corporate blackmail of halted exploration is for the government to step in. (NDP energy critic Tommy Douglas suggested to Energy Minister Alistair Gillespie that the government withhold increments in oil and gas prices, to which Gillespie replied that this was against free enterprise.)

Berger's vision is a harmonizing of economic, social, cultural, and environmental goals through the instrument of government intervention into the industrial system. To take Berger's vision seriously and to see a real future for Canada other than a neighbourly resource base for U.S. imperialism thoroughly integrated into its reactionary social structure and anti-human objectives, is to struggle for an independent Canada through the nationalization of its resources, its industry, its culture. That is the goal of a planned, socialist society which could provide peace and plenty for all.



editorial opinion of the Toronto Star

Canada's own political police

by Richard Hunt

Unauthorized break-ins by a secret police... Plots to steal files for political blacklists... Terrorist activities carried out by government agents...

Are these headlines describing conditions in a totalitarian country behind the "Iron Curtain" or run by fascist generals? No, these are headlines describing recent conditions in our very own democracy, where freedom of thought and expression is thought to reign unhindered by the state.

That assumption is one of the many myths exposed in recent weeks by a series of revelations regarding the RCMP, the local and provincial police forces. Each, supposedly a support on which our structure of justice rests, has in fact been shown to be a bedrock on which our system of repression reigns.

Now that this system of justice has been shown wanting, what is the state's reaction? To recommend giving its forces of repression even wider discretionary powers through liberalizing undercover police access to wiretaps.

This recommendation was put forth by Justice Minister Ronald Basford in the wake of the CBC-TV revelations concerning the existence of organized crime in Canada. Yet given the actions of the police forces revealed in recent weeks one can on-

ly wonder at the government's motives in pursuing such a course of action.

Consider this: in recent revelations regarding l'Agence de presse libre du Québec and the Praxis Corp. the RCMP was shown to have been involved in or to have abetted burglaries for the purpose of constructing blacklists and maintaining surveillance on forces considered by Mr. Goyer, the former Solicitor-General of Canada, to be "extra-parliamentary oppositions."

And what were these "oppositions" engaged in? Bombings perhaps? Terrorist kidnappings? Calls to organized violence? No, none of these things.

L'Agence de presse libre du Québec (APLQ) was a small news agency with a left orientation engaged primarily in investigative research and political reportage. The Praxis Corp. was an activist group attempting to organize Canada's poor into an effective political group. It helped groups such as the Just Society, Metro Tenants Association and Stop Spadina Expressway organize their campaigns.

At APLQ, files regarding separatists (many of whom are probably now duly elected representatives of large constituencies in Quebec) and "FLQ-style" radicals were seized.

Continued on page 3

Police criminals serve state

Continued from page 1

At Praxis Corp. files were stolen and offices burned.

Was the RCMP simply out of control, a police agency that had taken the law into its own hands? Certainly this would be a grim admission indeed. To think that even with constant government supervision such a potentially dangerous force as an uncontrolled secret police could suddenly materialize without public knowledge poses a grave threat to the existence of Canadian civil liberties.

Yet the reality concerning these break-ins is grimmer still. Government acquiescence in the RCMP's actions can be traced to the Solicitor-General's Office and into the cabinet. Then Solicitor-General Jean-Pierre Goyer circulated a "blacklist" of government civil servants based on information garnered from the stolen Praxis Corp. files.

Agents who were involved in the break-in were "reprimanded" and then given promotions. An initial cover-up began and continued successfully until another RCMP officer, on trial for attempting to burn down the house of a Quebec supermarket executive, reported his knowledge of the break-in.

Besides implicating the RCMP in such doings, the APLQ break-in showed considerable co-operation between the various police forces in their repressive efforts. Sentenced for the break-in along with the RCMP agent was a provincial police officer and a municipal officer.

That such incidents are not isolated is shown as further investigation into the RCMP's EPO operations ("extra-parliamentary opposition")

continues. Already evidence is clear of similar break-ins at other organizations such as James, Lewis and Samuel Publishers, a press which has published books by leftist authors.

PC MP Elmer MacKay and NDP leader Ed Broadbent have both called for investigations into RCMP activities. While the Conservatives may feel they have much to gain by this investigation into the RCMP they are not so interested in what the RCMP was doing in their own political stronghold of New Brunswick.

It seems that while the RCMP was chasing around the country after fictitious spectres on the left they were being told quite firmly to stop investigating corporate kickbacks to the Progressive Conservatives in New Brunswick by none other than the provincial Justice Minister John Baxter.

The RCMP there had uncovered an extensive network of bribes and kickbacks that the Minister felt went beyond the scope of the RCMP's investigative powers and had the Superintendent leading the investigation put a stop to it.

Thus while the RCMP had the "authority" to move with impunity against organizations of the left on the flimsiest of motivations, it could not proceed with actions against members of the ruling class when possessed of definitive evidence of guilt.

Yet the federal government proposes, with the support of the Tories, undercover police wiretapping powers which further threaten the erosion of our already corroded civil liberties on the pretext of having to gather evidence on organized crime. Since, clearly, the surveillance that

p. 2

is being sought is not aimed at the crooks who are powerful and wealthy, we can be assured that it is aimed at the trade union movement, the Native rights and Quebec independentist movements, and all those oppressed and exploited by Canadian capitalism.



Martin Loney, one of those named in Ottawa's blacklist following the raid on the Praxis offices in Toronto.

British socialists explain Labour Party orientation

The political situation of the Canadian labor movement having a single working class party, the NDP, which is endorsed by the trade unions is very similar to Britain and its ruling Labour Party.

How British socialists have approached the Labour Party both his-

torically and theoretically is the subject of a pamphlet written by the British League for Socialist Action called 'The Labour Party: Which way?'

The analysis and history it puts forward should be of interest to Canadian socialists who support the NDP since it deals with a similar, but more developed, experience than Canadian workers have had.

The pamphlet shows how the Labour Party by its very organizational existence, union links, and the type of reform politics it carries has been, and will be, the vehicle that workers turn to when they seek a political solution to their problems.

Socialists, it says, should welcome this turn towards working class politics as the first giant step towards a conscious socialist perspective and the strategy that can achieve socialism.

The pamphlet argues, therefore, that those who are already socialists should support the Labour Party as the workers' own party and direct developing mass movements towards it where the need for socialist leadership can be demonstrated concretely to ever greater numbers.

The Labour Party, like the NDP, has known many "right" and "left" turns reflecting various social pressures and the way labor leaders respond to them. The historical section of the pamphlet documents these turns showing once again how central the Labour Party is to class-conscious workers over a long period of time.

For socialists wondering about the dynamic of the NDP, 'The Labour Party: Which Way?' offers additional tools for analysis.

It is available from Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. West, 50¢.

JUST OUT

The Canadian Left

A critical analysis

by Norman Penner 6.50

The Liberal Idea of Canada

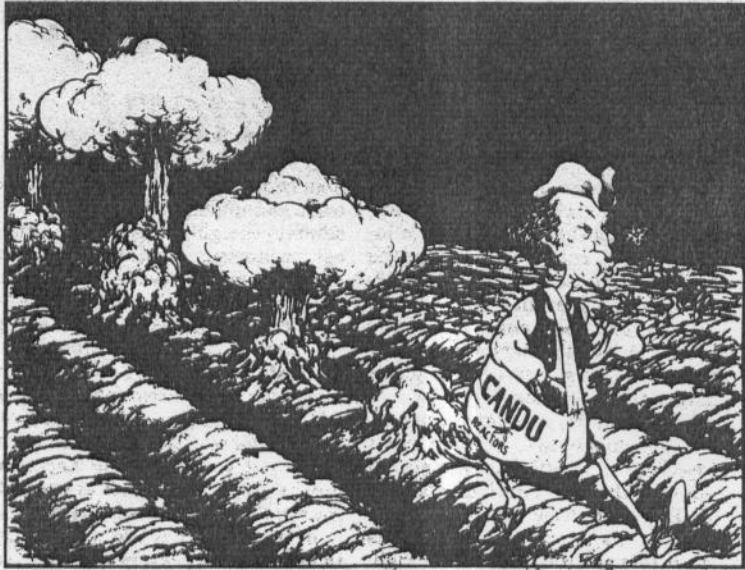
Pierre Trudeau & the Question
of Canada's Survival

by James & Robert Laxer 6.95

FORWARD BOOKS

53 Gerrard St. West, Toronto, Ont. M5G 1J2

Seeds of destruction



editorial opinion of the Edmonton Journal

Anti-nuclear acts sweep the world

by Ian Kellogg

A growing world-wide protest movement against the dangers of "peaceful" nuclear power development is rocking the entrenched nuclear establishment and undermining the plans of industrialists and financiers to guarantee profit regardless of safety considerations.

In February, this protest movement mobilized 60,000 people in Brockdorf, West Germany at the site of a fast breeder reactor. The movement presents a challenge to Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's program of a government of "non-political" experts.

Such anti-nuclear protests have created what Ulf Lantze, the Executive Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, describes as a "paralyzing crisis of confidence in the future of nuclear power."

In West Germany, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) Government was almost defeated in Parliament over its pro-nuclear policies. A militant wing of the SPD parliamentary caucus threatened to bring the Government down if it did not stop research into controversial breeder atomic reactors. Helmut Schmidt was forced to agree to their demands.

The militancy within the SPD reflects the massive protest movement throughout the population. Millions of people are awakening to the danger of the "plutonium economy" that nuclear energy is developing; an economy of escalating arms buildup, the creation of huge amounts of extremely poisonous wastes and the threat of devastating nuclear accidents.

Sweden is another country where the development of nuclear power is being challenged. The last Swedish general elections saw the pro-nuclear policy of the ruling Social Democrats become the most visible issue in a campaign they lost. And the present Government has suffered massive loss of popular support as it waffles on its election commitment to freeze nuclear developments.

Japan is another nuclear 'hot spot'. The current nuclear controversy there has an almost comic aspect to it. It involves a nuclear-powered ship which, because it started leaking radioactive waste three days after its launching, cannot find a port to be repaired at; the fishermen will not allow the ship to land for fear of the damage its radioactivity will do to the fish stock.

Then there is Seabrooke, New Hampshire and the occupation of the nuclear site there in May that led to the arrest of nearly 1,500 people. They were protesting the massive heat pollution that the reactor will cause to the ocean waters nearby.

Other areas with growing protests include France, Australia and Britain. The international actions of protest against big business and state

development of nuclear power may shortly find their parallel in Canada where government and business are busily concocting their own plans for uncontrolled nuclear power development. (The growing Canadian movement and the controversies of the debate will be analysed in future **Forward** articles.)

Nuclear power is the issue above all others where experts have used the complexities of a situation to dictate policy. However, it is also an issue of immense and immediate importance. Nuclear power poses what the future of our society will be like, even as it poses the potential destruction of society.

This issue is impelling thousands of people into conflict with government by "experts", posing as it does the right of society to decide its own future and its very survival in a conscious, knowledgeable and planned way.

The fight against the development of potentially deadly nuclear power, solely to fuel the huge corporations and satisfy the huge vested nuclear interests, is gaining momentum. In the fight for public control over public affairs, it is assuming an increasingly large place.

Canadians protest anti-gay campaign

by Randy Notte

Anita Bryant's campaign to vilify homosexuals as child-molesters and sinners is drawing loud and vocal protest from the gay community across North America. With her recent victory in overturning Dade County, Florida's gay rights ordinance, Bryant is now campaigning in California to overturn a similar law there.

Reaction to Bryant's campaign has been quick. Shortly after, spontaneous demonstrations of between 5,000 to 10,000 occurred in San Francisco, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Here in Toronto, a strategy meeting was organized in less than a week's time to discuss the Bryant offensive. The nearly 200 people who showed up exhibited an exuberance never before witnessed in any organized gay circle. Speeches by organizers Terry Phillips and Randy Notte showed clearly who the forces were lined up with Bryant: the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, fundamentalist Christians and neo-fascists.

From the meeting the call for a demonstration went out. Considering that only two days were given to organize the demonstration, the 300 to 400 people in attendance indicated quite sharply the depth of anti-Bryant sentiment.

Further actions are planned for the coming months. As well, a coalition to stop Anita Bryant is in the process of being formed.

Levesque straddles opposing PQ forces

by John Morgan

Two events of importance took place in Québec during May—the first convention of the Parti Québécois since taking power seven months ago, and Premier Lévesque's con-voking of an economic "harmoniza-tion" conference attended by some 150 labor leaders and business executives.

At the economic "summit", lead-ing trade unionists of the Conseil des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), the Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec (CEQ) and the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ, Quebec wing of the pan-Canadian CLC) launched a withering attack against foreign corporate exploita-tion of Quebec, and against the influ-ence they are beginning to put to bear on the PQ government—a gov-ernment supported by labor on a pro-gram of important reforms.

For labor, the gains already made from the victory of the PQ are signifi-cant: the government exempted pub-lic servants' wages from the federal Anti-Inflation Board rollbacks, and later abolished the Board's jurisdic-tion entirely. It has also raised the minimum wage to the highest level in North America, and has commit-ted itself to legislation outlawing the hiring of scabs during strikes.

Nor could labor abstain from at-tending the economic "summit", which Lévesque claimed would end the period of "law of the jungle" labor relations inherited from the anti-labor Liberal regime of Bouras-sa. Whatever Lévesque meant by "social peace", its immediate re-sults were a welcome change from recent years during which almost a dozen special laws were used to end strikes.

Lévesque reiterated his faith in the private enterprise system, but he also rejected outright the Conseil du Patronat's plea for a one-year moratorium on new labor legislation. Changes are "too urgent", he said, citing government intentions to severely tighten health and security standards on the job, and to support the unionization of low-paid workers. This view was echoed by Bernard Landry, an ex-unionist and Minister of State for Economic Development: "Quebec has one of the lowest rates of industrial unionism among west-ern societies, and that is abnormal". Another ex-unionist and senior PQ cabinet minister Pierre Marois stated that the public workers' right to strike would be maintained.

Not only was big business on the defensive at the summit, but its ad-vice was shoved aside. When Power Corp. (and the Patronat's) president Paul Desmarais warned the govern-ment against "excessive interven-tion in the free enterprise economy" and against paying salaries that were too high to public servants, he was simply ignored. Gérard Plourde, a business executive, took on the PQ frontally, saying "there are things that don't help us at all, the French language and a sovereign Quebec. That scares investors." Others, like Canadian Pacific mogul Ian Sinclair, declined even to attend the summit as he didn't speak French and no translations were provided.

When Shell Canada's vice-presi-dent pleaded for the PQ to give "clear signals of the intentions of the government on public corporations and control of foreign investment", André L'Heureux of the militant CSN countered: "We too, need clear signals...on private enterprise, which broke the back of my grand-father and father...are you going to build a public economy, with nation-alized sectors and complexes? Are you going to aid the cooperative sec-tor which belongs to us? Are you go-ing to control the savings of Québécois which are being siphoned off at such a rate for the profit of others?" CSN metalworker official Pierre Du-pont warned Lévesque: "The compa-nies are blackmailing us and talking about an uncertain climate. It seems to be more and more affecting our government. We should stop fearing them. For example, Quebec could channel savings by repatriating all pension funds to the Caisse de dépôt and for investment in the Quebec state. Enough of the highjacking of funds for the profit of the enter-prises!" "We need a stubborn gov-ernment which is not afraid of multi-national corporations" said Auto-worker Robert Dean, adding "Ford and Chrysler sell 30% of their jal-opies here and they haven't created a single job. An independent Quebec will force them to open assembly lines here."

The left wing of the union move-ment, centered in the Montreal sec-tion of the CSN, was cynical about the PQ's attempt to "harmonize" labor's views with those of big busi-ness, but decided to attend the sum-mit at the last moment. One of its spokesmen and a péquiste, Michel Bourdon, told the gathering "It's no

extreme left slogan to say that the multinationals seek to make the max-imum profit...the government owes them nothing and should remember it." Referring to the socialist posi-tions the CSN has taken in past years, he stated "we propose a changed economic regime...but be-fore we change the regime, there are immediate objectives (like the) Job Stabilization Bank we propose to meet cases like plant closures and layoffs." CSN President Norbert Rodrigue, who regards the establish-ment of a Quebec labor party as pre-



According to Parti Québécois Fi-nance Minister Jacques Parizeau, a sovereign Quebec's economic asso-ciation with anglophone Canada, despite all the bluster of the provin-cial premiers, is certain, because to not have it would simply be stupid.

mature at present, nevertheless took his distance from the PQ: "We have a pretty clear idea of your objectives, and they are not ours" (Lévesque ap-plauded his speech as evidence his party is neutral). Rodrigue also at-tacked the PQ attempts at "harmon-ization" and its model of Sweden, stating that Swedish labor's success in obtaining reforms and wage con-cessions depended on the existence of a strong labor party long in power, whereas the PQ is not such a party and is susceptible to the pressures of corporations. To this, Lévesque shif-ted to his other foot, replying that the PQ is the party of "all the Qué-bécois, 90% of whom are workers."

A coup de théâtre marked the

summit, organized by the FTQ, the first labor federation to accept Léves-que's invitation: a surprise demon-stration of paperworkers from a Des-marais plant threatened with immin-ent closure. The strikers shouted, and all Quebec heard: "The workers have put all their confidence in your government. They expect a lot in return."

If labor made its voice heard loud and clear at the "summit", the same was not true at the Parti Québécois convention held a few days later. The Lévesque leadership appealed to the 1300 delegates for moderation sup-posedly in order to win the future referendum on independence, at the same time as it uncereemoniously dumped important party policies. In office the government's big plus has been Bill 1, which boldly establishes French as the language of work and education. But it reneged on accep-ted party policy to establish a state-run auto insurance plan, and its con-servative first budget shocked even the most stalwart of its supporters like Pierre Vadeboncoeur, anti-Marxist columnist in the indepen-dentist weekly *Le Jour*. Not only did the government fail to reduce work-ers' taxes, it actually levied an addi-tional sales tax on children's clothing.

Of the 3,000 resolutions submitted to the convention, none critical of the PQ's record reached a vote. It was only when the government attempt-ed to reverse party policy immedi-ately ending subsidies to private schools that it faced a revolt. The convention succeeded in winning the principle of reduced subsidies, but no time limit was set, allowing Lévesque to ridicule the decision by telling the press that the rate of re-duction could be 1% per year, rather than 20%.

The convention also saw the vic-tory of the Montréal-Centre women in committing the party to women's right to abortion, and removal of abortion from the Criminal Code. A 17-point program was hotly debated and adopted by a vote of 699 to 522. It also directed the government to launch a "national discussion" on legislation to establish a network of day care centres as a high priority. Louise Thiboutot, prominent in pro-moting this view, was elected to the National Council. Again, the conven-tion was faced with the spectacle of Lévesque publicly dissociating him-

British socialists explain Labour Party orientation

The political situation of the Canadian labor movement having a single working class party, the NDP, which is endorsed by the trade unions is very similar to Britain and its ruling Labour Party.

How British socialists have approached the Labour Party both his-

torically and theoretically is the subject of a pamphlet written by the British League for Socialist Action called 'The Labour Party: Which way?'

The analysis and history it puts forward should be of interest to Canadian socialists who support the NDP since it deals with a similar, but more developed, experience than Canadian workers have had.

The pamphlet shows how the Labour Party by its very organizational existence, union links, and the type of reform politics it carries has been, and will be, the vehicle that workers turn to when they seek a political solution to their problems.

Socialists, it says, should welcome this turn towards working class politics as the first giant step towards a conscious socialist perspective and the strategy that can achieve socialism.

The pamphlet argues, therefore, that those who are already socialists should support the Labour Party as the workers' own party and direct developing mass movements towards it where the need for socialist leadership can be demonstrated concretely to ever greater numbers.

The Labour Party, like the NDP, has known many "right" and "left" turns reflecting various social pressures and the way labor leaders respond to them. The historical section of the pamphlet documents these turns showing once again how central the Labour Party is to class conscious workers over a long period of time.

For socialists wondering about the dynamic of the NDP, 'The Labour Party: Which Way?' offers additional tools for analysis.

It is available from Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. West, 50¢.

Union women plan activities

by Eleanor Jewitt

The Organized Working Women (OWW) held a small but enthusiastic annual conference in Toronto on May 13 and 14. Those present renewed their pledge to be a powerful voice for working women through their own union membership. They pointed out that they are recognized as a legitimate vehicle for action and they intend to mobilize men and women members of the trade union movement around "women's issues." They will use the \$19,000 budget they negotiated with the Secretary of State to carry out their mandate.

In their statement entitled "The Unemployment Crisis and the Ontario Election" they exposed the Con-

servatives' callous and sexist definition of full employment around categories of "prime age males", "women over 25" and "youth" each having a different "acceptable" rate of unemployment.

One group interested in checking whether OWW can institutionalize change for women in the trade union movement is the office of the Secretary of State. The OWW negotiated a contract with the Secretary of State that has a budget of \$19,000. OWW will use this money to hire a full-time woman to carry out its mandate.

A statement of intent on the expansion of OWW was passed indicating that OWW is interested in forming chapters of OWW throughout the

province. Three visiting delegates from the March 17th Working Women's Conference in Thunder Bay were in attendance at the OWW (Toronto Area Conference) in preparation for the upcoming founding convention of OWW (Thunder Bay).

The OWW Newsletter will be out for the OFL Sept. 16, 17, & 18th conference on problems of women workers and for the CLC Second Women's conference called for Jan. 12, 13 & 14th, 1978 in Ottawa.

In the fall active committees will be meeting on Employee Benefits, Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value and the Newsletter while the OWW reaches out to workers in the shops and offices.

Levesque straddles

p2
self from this position, softening his denunciation somewhat by saying he was against the hypocrisy of present laws which result in continuing butchery of women.

The Lévesque leadership also summarily dropped the party's policy of withdrawal from the military alliances NATO and NORAD in favor of a policy of re-evaluation. But Denis Vaugeois, an adjunct to the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs favored a complete reversal to one of support: "whatever the evolution of Quebec, (we) will not wish to de-stabilize the American system of defence."

While it is apparent that there is no consistent left wing yet developed within the Parti Québécois, it is clearly here that such a left wing will be nurtured and eventually find expression in the establishment of Québec's independent labor party. The statistics tell it: *Le Jour* reported that its 10,000 activist members recently collected \$1.2 million for the

party from its 155,000 members. As a political movement, it resembles more the British Labour Party than does English Canada's New Democratic Party—it's no electoralist shell that merely comes to life every four years and around convention time. The struggle for an independent socialist Quebec within its ranks is likely to express itself in forces supporting the reforms that its petit-bourgeois leadership concede, and in exposing this leadership's inadequacy and treachery in blocking the winning of genuine, socialist independence.

The forces to build a revolutionary left wing are there, and the need to organize a left opposition is urgent. André L'Heureux of the CSN pre-saged this development when he declared at the PQ's summit meeting: "The PQ is gravely mistaken if it believes it can count on the bourgeoisie, above all anglophone, to realize its grand plan. Rather, it must count on the workers."

Left leadership needed as alternative

Lewis' opportunism led to defeat

by Dale Ritch

Ontario NDP activists in their thousands recently spent five hectic weeks of canvassing, leafletting and donating money in a giant struggle to get their party elected as the Government of Ontario. The effort was unlike any ever seen in Ontario before. Spurring the enthusiasm was the thought at the back of everyone's mind that for the first time in Ontario's history, the NDP might move from Official Opposition status to actually form a government. Failing this treasured goal, it seemed almost certain that the aftermath of the election would see a decimated Liberal Party and the NDP firmly established as the opposition party.

The ONDP entered the election as a formidable political force, armed not only with spirit and dedication but with a well-oiled organizational machine, sound finances adequate for the task at hand and a full slate of credible and experienced candidates. They included such star recruits as Gordon Cressy, and farm leaders Gordon Hill and Walter Miller.

The Tories, who had called a snap election in order to secure an elusive majority, were vulnerable because of soaring unemployment, an acute housing shortage and growing concern over environmental pollution, industrial safety and other important issues.

The Liberal Party was in an acute crisis and appeared to be on the verge of disintegration. Six Liberal MPP's had retired, including two of the only three incumbents the Liberals had in Toronto. When the election was called the Liberals had only 32 candidates nominated in all of Ontario. The Liberal Party and its green leader, Stuart Smith, were discredited because of their habit of propping up the Tory minority government at every turn.

Rank and file NDPers undoubtedly looked to Stephen Lewis and the provincial party campaign to come through in the crunch and cement an electoral victory by means of a hard-hitting and issue-oriented campaign similar to the last minute effort which lifted the NDP to official opposition status in 1975.

However, neither the results of the election nor the performance of Lewis and the party leadership measured up to the expectations and possibilities generated by the election. The NDP was pushed back to third party status with five fewer MPP's than before—a total of 33 seats compared the Liberals' 34 and the Tories' 58 seats. The NDP's percentage of the popular vote declined although only very slightly. Worst of all, Lewis's campaign attacked the heart of the democratic and socialist principles and traditions of the CCF-NDP, thus undermining the party's anti-corporate image in the eyes of the elector-

ate. Lewis paid the price of the defeat with his resignation from the leadership but the final price the NDP will have to pay for this spineless campaign is yet to be reckoned.

Anticipating collapse of the Liberal vote and a strong red-baiting campaign by the Tories in a desperate attempt to secure a freer hand in the legislature through a majority, Lewis, Gerry Caplan and the small coterie who dictated the campaign strategy long ago devised a plan to deal with the anticipated red-baiting. The idea was to present the NDP as a responsible moderate party that would not challenge any of the big business institutions, or ask for votes on the basis of the need for social change but would merely adopt the posture that a vote for the NDP was "common sense", a vote for pragmatism rather than social change.

Measures such as the public repudiation of High Park MPP Ed Ziemba for breaking one of the sacrosanct "gentlemen's" rules of Parliament, and the attempt to get the party to solicit corporate funding lay the groundwork for this strategic shift to the right (designed to open the party to an influx of votes from the discredited Liberals.)

One of the key themes of the NDP campaign was the notion that minority government works and of course the logical follow-up that the real goal of the election was not to win a majority but rather to stop the Tories from forming a majority, with the NDP as the loyal opposition to keep the Tories honest. However, many voters must have deduced that if minority government works, even though the Liberals voted with the Tories on every key question, why bother voting for the NDP and not for the Liberals? After all, they too had an important role to play in making 'minority government work', didn't they? By adopting, as Lewis did, the premise that the prospect of an NDP government would scare away potential votes, Lewis gave up any chance of emerging as a serious alternative to either the Tories or Liberals. A party that acts as though it is not running to win can hardly inspire undecided voters or win over disillusioned Tory and Liberal supporters. **People vote to win, not to come second!**

Lewis' disavowal of the key nationalization of the resource sector plank at the televised leaders' debate—the highmark of his wanton opportunism and his disrespect for convention decisions—left the electorate confused, party supporters apprehensive, and Tory leader Davis crowing that, "the NDP has backed off from many positions and has consistently taken positions that negate what it stands for and what the party has traditionally supported."

By forcing Lewis to retreat all during the campaign and to adopt a de-

fensive posture, Davis' baiting had achieved more than he had dared hope for even before the appearance of the notorious British Columbia "man-in-the-street" interviews!

Lewis' only solution to the central problem of unemployment, a paltry \$300 million job creation fund didn't make any more sense to an electorate facing a slow steady slide into economic depression than did Davis' demagogic Charter for Ontario or Smith's hare-brained scheme for limiting taxes and government expenditures to the AIB limits. Lewis, however, even failed to match the latter by refusing to develop the party program and perspective to any meaningful extent. He chose instead to emphasize "non-issues", his responsibility and moderation without posing a rounded program or perspective which could attract wavering voters.

There was, however, one startling inconsistency in Lewis' campaign: the rather surprising and principled defence of the \$4 an hour minimum wage when he was challenged by Fraser-Kelley. In fact, this aspect was so out of context with the rest of Lewis' performance that one suspects the firm stand taken on this issue was to stave off the mounting criticism of Lewis from NDP ranks for his repudiation of the nationalization plank. In fact, several of the Sudbury area NDP MPP's publicly dissociated themselves from Lewis on this point. It was reported that at one of his campaign stops in Sudbury only one person came to greet Lewis.

Lewis' election campaign strategy did not backfire because of the stand on the minimum wage issue, even though the manner in which it was presented might have lost votes in some ridings. The campaign failed because the NDP did not present itself as the working people's alternative to the big business parties. Although, the hard core working class urban vote was maintained and the ethnic vote in Metro extended somewhat, the lacklustre campaign was unable to extend the electoral base of the party. In St. David's riding which was pushed by the NDP brass as the key fight in the province, and the test of the NDP's electoral strategy, with the former Liberal Gordon Cressy as candidate, the NDP took only one poll in the ridings bastion of wealth, Rosedale, despite the tremendous effort there, while losing in the huge public housing development in the riding, Regent Park.

Since the election, the party and trade union leadership have not reconsidered their right-wing drift. On the contrary, Lewis, Walter Pitman and Cliff Pilkey have all stated that it was the minimum wage demand that caused the defeat although Lewis himself conceded that "the whole

development debate may have done us more damage than I was willing to concede at the time" in reference to the loss of the three Northern seats to the Tories.



Stephen Lewis resigned as leader of the Ontario NDP when his opportunist policies failed to pay off in votes and the party fell to third place — behind the Liberals.

Pitman, who must be viewed as a prime contender for Lewis' job, stated that the next ONDP leader must not be bound by convention decision made "in much different circumstances". Lewis said that the "convention must remain supreme", however, "more weight must be put on fashioning responsible and defensible resolutions." Lewis' concept of responsibility has already been amply demonstrated.

These statements and others like them point out that the right wing drift will continue unabated, until the NDP is stripped of all its socialist program and traditions or until socialists in the party organize themselves to defend and extend the party's program.

The next period leading up to the leadership convention is a critical one. It is essential that resolutions, come from as many ridings as possible defending the nationalization and \$4 minimum wage positions, at the upcoming convention and Provincial Council meetings. Hopefully, a credible left candidate will step forward so that a socialist campaign could pull together all the left elements in the party and educate party members on the need to win the NDP to socialism.

Although the left in the party is very weak and disorganized, the groundswell of dissent over the conduct of the campaign and the resignation of Lewis with no clear successor opens up a tremendous possibility for the left if it moves out boldly. Now is the time to act!

Forward Fund Drive close to \$5,000 goal

There is a story about the capitalist press that appeared in the early Canadian socialist paper, **The Worker**, of Sept. 13, 1924, which goes as follows. John Swindon, once editor of the **New York Times**, responded this way to a toast in favor of the independent press to a gathering of his fellow journalists:

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press. You

it and I know it. There is not one of you who would dare write his honest opinion and if he did, you would know beforehand that it would never appear in print.

"The **business** of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread.

"We are the tools and vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. We are jumping jacks. They pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are the property of these men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

This testimony is striking confirmation of the absolute necessity of the counteracting and wholesome influence of the socialist press—what underlies **Forward's** existence.

As of this writing, our readership has pledged \$4,500 of the \$5,000 necessary to keep **Forward** solvent for the next year. The staff of **Forward** expresses its socialist gratitude for your response, and we urge those of you who have neglected to pledge to do so right away so that we may honor our commitment to publish for another year, the unvarnished truth.

Send your CONTRIBUTION, CHEQUE OR MONEY ORDER to:
Forward, P.O. Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario.



Don't end up searching newsstands for the **FORWARD**. Subscribe today. It's considerably cheaper than buying single copies and you'll get it regularly—mailed to your home each month. Fill out the attached coupon—don't miss a single issue.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____

FORWARD
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont.

JUST OUT

- The Canadian Left**
A critical analysis
by Norman Penner 6.50
- The Liberal Idea of Canada**
Pierre Trudeau & the Question
of Canada's Survival
by James & Robert Laxer 6.95

FORWARD BOOKS

53 Gerrard St. West, Toronto, Ont. M5G 1J2

Trudeau leads federalist attack against Parti Québécois

The social dynamics of the Quebec nationalist movement



High point in the continuing struggle of the Québécois has been opposition involvement in foreign wars. This demonstration in Montreal in 1944 was in protest against conscription.

The social dynamics of the Quebec nationalist movement

Trudeau leads federalist attack against Parti Québécois

(from Labor Challenge July 1977)

The following is the second installment of a three part article on the constitutional crisis now confronting Canada. The first, appearing in the May 1977 issue, dealt with the BNA Act and Confederation. Copies can be obtained by writing to FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto.

By Ross Dowson

Confederation, the structuring of Canada into a single national state, imposed on its components of 1867 by the nascent indigenous capitalist class in collusion with British imperialist interests, contained, but it by no means eliminated several explosive elements.

The Fathers of Confederation anticipated that the conquered nations of Quebec and the Native Peoples (Indian, Métis and Inuit) would be constrained and ultimately assimilated in the case of the former, and in the case of the latter, driven to the outer edges of the community and destroyed as an effective force.

But 79 years after the British conquest. Lord Durham in his report following the brutal defeat of the 1837 revolutionary uprisings against the British yoke in both Lower and Upper Canada informed the British Foreign Office, "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people. Instead I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state."

Lord Durham expressed the anticipation of those who looked to the destruction of the French nation through the processes of assimilation, with the words: ..it will be acknowledged by everyone who has observed the progress of Anglo-Saxon colonization in America that sooner or later the English race is sure to predominate even numerically ally in Lower Canada (Québec) as they predominate already by their superior knowledge, energy and wealth. The error, therefore, to which the present contest must be attributed, is the vain endeavor to preserve a French Canadian nationality in the midst of Anglo-American colonies and states..."

Nonetheless the French-Canadian nationality has been more than preserved. Inflamed by the hanging of Riel and the destruction of the Métis Republic, the conscription of her youth for the foreign World Wars I and II, sustained for many years by conservative clerical forces, until, following the so-called Quiet Revolution of the sixties, in November 1976 it took the stage as the Parti Québécois in power in the Quebec National Assembly.

What is the PQ and what are the general configurations of the movement which it heads? Will the sovereign Quebec state which it projects be socialist as the editors of the *Globe and Mail* and *Financial Post* warn or will it be a xenophobic, racist, even fascist state as, others are so bold as to suggest? And with Quebec wrenched out, what is the

future for anglophone (*English-speaking –ed.*) Canada? Will it survive as a nation, or will the continuing process of economic integration with the U.S. result in its complete structural integration?

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whom the noted historian Arthur Lower has described as “the country's sheet anchor” around whom “Like it or not all those who love their country must rally... (since) he represents the only adequate bridge between two people,” has led the assault on the PQ and its declared aim of the establishment of a sovereign Quebec nation state.

In Saskatoon this spring he charged the PQ with being a fifth column, an insidious enemy within Canada which “wants to destroy this country” and urged that its representatives be barred from getting a hearing—“they are trying to con you,” he warned.

At one of his weekly news conferences in June, Trudeau in effect rejected any discussions with Quebec government officials. As a precondition he said that “he wants to make sure that Mr. Lévesque (*leader of the Parti Québécois –ed.*) ... wants to remain in Confederation.” And “I am not in favor of the thesis put forward that the premier of Quebec is speaking on behalf of a founding people.”

In an early May interview with Agence France Presse, and in a speech at Laval University, he not only attacked the established criteria that define any nation, including Quebec as a nation. He ridiculed the very “idea that a nation must be sovereign.” He flung the label of “ethnocentricity” on the policy of the PQ—a term which the widely syndicated Southam Press columnist Charles Lynch conceded is nothing but a “polite term for racism.”

The common thread that runs through the arguments of nearly all those who have succumbed to the high-powered campaign for Canadian national unity is the failure to recognize that the francophones of Quebec, the overwhelming majority of its population, are a nation, an oppressed nation within the Canadian state and by that fact have the elementary democratic right to self-determination, up to and including separation itself.

The term colony (a colony of Anglo-Canadian and U.S. Capital) sometimes used to describe Quebec, and Canada itself, as a colony of the U.S. instead of clarifying only confuses the question. The economy of Quebec unlike the so-called underdeveloped world, the Third World, is not agrarian, but that of the advanced capitalist world which, while suffering from elements of regional underdevelopment, is essentially the same as the rest of Canada. The central form of class antagonism is the conflict between capitalism, (Anglo-Canadian. U.S. and a dependent Quebec capitalism) and a highly urbanized, unionized and militant working class. Nationalism is not solely the credo of the tiny Quebec middle class but permeates the consciousness of the working class heightening its class unity and combativity. Lise Payette, the popular PQ minister of consumer affairs and financial institutions, attacked the business community last month with exercising “shameful blackmail” of the government, charging it with being people

"without a flag, without nationalism and without a sense of identity."

The state forms are of a bourgeois democratic character. While the struggle for an independent Quebec has been projected by some as posing a socialist revolution and even armed struggle, the PQ winning an electoral majority in the Quebec Assembly gave the struggle for a sovereign Quebec a qualitative leap forward. The PQ government accused by its federalist opposition of already acting as if it headed a sovereign state has been implementing legislation such as its French language law that would appear to almost guarantee a yes vote for Quebec sovereignty in the coming referendum. It would appear that Quebec independence is going to be won in the cold way (*i.e., a transformation of bourgeois state relations rather than socialist independence ed. **) While nothing is excluded, there is no longer talk about federal armed intervention against separation it is apparent that any such adventure would tear apart the country from coast to coast in an irreconcilable civil war.

What has sustained the consciousness of the Québécois that they do indeed constitute a nation is largely their cultural oppression—the denial of their language rights, outside the borders of Quebec where they are being assimilated, but above all in Quebec where they constitute the majority.

Trudeau, in a recent speech in Winnipeg, presented facts which explain above all the alienation of the aspiring Québécois middle class professional. "The population of Quebec is more than 80% French-speaking. Yet out of Quebec's 100 largest business firms, only four have five or more French-Canadian executives—and 43 of these firms do not have a single French Canadian in their senior ranks." He also noted that while francophones constitute 27% of the Canadian population they constitute less than 15% in the federal public service.

The parliamentary commission hearings that the PQ government has been holding on its proposed language Bill 1, an avidly followed public forum, recently heard Yvon Charbonneau, president of the French-speaking teachers' union—the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec, present its 93-page brief.

Charbonneau explained the class character of the language question. "The alienation of the Québécois people, a people of wage earners in search of a fatherland, is first economic in nature: it derives from the position that its overwhelming majority occupies in the process of production: the bottom of the ladder." Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin enthusiastically responded that the PQ bill to francisize the Quebec economy, to make French the language at the work place, is to get at the roots of "the economic alienation" of the Québécois.

The election of the PQ government was widely celebrated. While they subsequently recanted, almost the entire NDP leadership, along with union leaders such as McDermott of the UAW, hailed it. After all, the defeat of Bourassa constituted a body blow to the capitalist party par excellence, the Liberals—a blow from which their Quebec wing has yet to show the slightest sign of recovery. The response of the so-called revolutionary left

—that nothing had changed— only revealed its own myopia. The PQ victory not only signified a new opening for the Québécois, which they readily understood, but also for anglophone Canadian politics.

Of course the PQ is neither a socialist nor a labor party. It is a petit-bourgeois party, its leadership largely composed of middle class professionals and technocrats with a background that is even more solidly respectable than any government in the country. While the editors of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and the *Financial Post* label them socialist, neither the party's program nor its leadership, for all their promised reforms, present a consistent anti-capitalist perspective, although Lévesque has said the party is socialist on the Swedish model. It is the rupture that its meteoric growth and election into office has brought to Quebec society, the mass character of the party which makes it the most popularly rooted in the country, the high anticipation of its ranks reflected in the party's endorsement by the Quebec Federation of Labor, that open up such possibilities for social change in Quebec and the rest of the country.

The PQ is a nationalist party firmly committed to the establishment of an independent and sovereign Quebec. While the leadership is now in the process of opportunistically laying aside some of its social program and it is not excluded that some elements may capitulate to the high-powered opposition of federalism, as a party it is being persistently firmed up and evermore irrevocably committed to independence. With the formal establishment of Quebec sovereignty its popular, largely working class base, will be confronted with the challenge of what to do with that sovereignty, with the question of what kind of Quebec they wanted to build. While the PQ is not a labor party its rise has continued to pose the question of such a party which it would now seem certain can only come out of further experiences of the class with the PQ. Thus the PQ would appear to be a highly unstable and even transitional form in the continued radicalization of the Québécois.

The national aspirations of the Québécois, rooted in some 250 years of oppression, and which have given the working class struggles there a sharp cutting edge, have never been understood by the federalist-oriented reformist NDP and CLC leadership — particularly that wing that functions primarily as an extension of the U.S.-based so-called international unions. The rigidity of the CLC leadership, modified only at the 1974 Vancouver convention, left important sectors of the working class to unionize outside of its ranks and to realize unity of action only in the Common Fronts.

The struggles within the Quebec CCF to tune the party into the national aspirations of the Québécois led by Jean-Marie Bédard, Michel Chartrand and others were frustrated and defeated by the Ottawa leadership. This false policy of the CCF-NDP leadership has had the two-fold result of **one**; dooming the CCF-NDP to the existence of a tiny irrelevant sect which it remains to this day, and **two**; leaving the situation open so that such a formation as the PQ would arise to fill the gap.

This confusion in the anglophone working class movement is typified by the editorial

that appears in the April issue of *True North*, a monthly sponsored by a wide range of union leaders in the Sudbury district. It declares that nationalism in Quebec represents only the interests of the middle class, "the injured egos of 2% of the population of Quebec." Echoing the witch-hunt charges that Trudeau has leveled at the CBC. "using both the French and English language media both in Quebec and the rest of Canada," this tiny middle class, according to Editor Carl Dow, actually "created the cultural conditions for the election of the PQ." This same 2%, while Quebec, under the union leadership, "stood on the threshold of real social reform... seized an opportunity to subvert this genuine democratic social and economic development." Dow caps off his version of history as conspiracy with a warning about nationalism—including the nationalism of oppressed peoples—not to "forget the lessons of Hitler and his National Socialists, and the wormy workings of Mussolini, to say nothing of the right-wing nationalist governments of today in Africa and South America and Asia."

Grace McInnis, the daughter of CCF founder J.S. Woodsworth and NDP MP for nine years, lends herself to an interview in the series that the editors of the *Toronto Star* state quite frankly seek "opinions on how to persuade Quebec to remain in Confederation." She too concentrates her fire not on the perpetrators of national oppression but upon nationalism, which she warns "can be devastatingly dangerous... Where nationalism and socialism are found in one group of Individuals," she says, "there will be a conflict and nationalism is always going to win." According to McInnis, separatism doesn't stem from the masses in Quebec but merely from feelings of insecurity in working people. The answer is "give people jobs..."

In this, McInnis merely follows the line of NDP leader Broadbent whose top priority is not to popularize the legitimate grievances of the Québécois and to defend the right of the Québécois nation to self-determination, but to keep the country together. Noting that "you find that fully 40% of Quebecers under the age of 30 now are moving in a separatist direction" he has been appealing to the Trudeau government to initiate a job creation program aimed at young Québécois. With such a program by a government which has declared it has no solutions to the present economic crisis, according to advisor Broadbent "we'd win the battle, if you like, for the hearts and minds of those who are not yet committed to separatism by that clear demonstration of a national government that cares for Quebecers."

While Quebec's course towards national sovereignty is proving ever more clearly, in the words of Lévesque, to be irreversible, and thus the question of what is to become of anglophone Canada is ever more on the order of the day, the central focus of Ottawa's pan-Canadian campaign remains Quebec. By concentrating it there Ottawa hopes to hold anglophone Canada together as a bloc of forces against Quebec. Besides the key decision is to be made in no place other than Quebec by none other than the Québécois.

Of course Trudeau is not addressing himself to the PQ and the growing forces for Quebec national sovereignty. He has declared irreconcilable war against them. Trudeau is trying to rally together and firm up every rag-tag and bob-tail of opposition to the PQ referendum in Quebec, to overcome the petty schisms between the Liberals, the Progressive Conservatives, the Union Nationale and the Créditistes. He is out to

consolidate whatever forces of opposition that he can scrape together, to polarize the opposition to a "yes" vote in the referendum on national sovereignty.

By so doing, of course, he polarizes the forces which favor a "yes" vote in the referendum. All the dynamics of the situation favor a "yes" vote. Should the vote register a defeat for independence it cannot be a final answer, for the Québécois' struggle is inevitable and irrepressible. And all the while the processes of disintegration continue to work away at the rest of Canada, continuing to pose the need for a constituent assembly to prepare a new constitution that will serve twentieth century Canada in a world that is in the process of fundamental change.

*(*Indeed a small majority of francophone Québécois voted for independence in the referendum, however outweighed by anglophone and immigrant votes they narrowly lost— Web. Ed.)*

(end of Part. 2 of 3) (see Part 3 in Forward, September, No. 29)

Labor to fight for jobless

by P. Kent

CLC President Joe Morris, with the unanimous backing of the CLC executive declared on August 18 that "We totally reject the idea of controls in any form whatsoever, compulsory or voluntary," and will have no further consultations with the government until the controls program has been lifted completely.

With their rejection of Ottawa's attempt to foist the policing of its wage freeze onto the labor movement itself, by voluntary acceptance of "restraints", the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress ended their diversionary adventure with Tripartism. Forward saw this conclusion from the beginning.

The wage freeze, now in effect for a full two years, as labor warned all along, has done nothing to halt inflation. It has only served to place the cost of the anarchy and decay of the capitalist system onto the backs of those who are already its chief victims.

The inflation rate, which the government claimed was running at 10% annually when it imposed the controls, has been running in recent months at 8% to 10%. On the other hand wage increases have been held down to 4% and 5% annually, representing a substantial cut in the living standards of the working people, and at the same time gravely undermining the unions as instruments of collective bargaining. On top of this, unemployment has steadily mounted, until today it is the highest since the pre-World War II Depression.

The government's Statistics Canada concedes that unemployment now stands at 800,000 or 8.3% of the work force and that the economy is headed into recession. However labor or statisticians estimate that it is closer to 12% and is continuing to rise, with 48% of the unemployed under the age of 25—a rate that is exceeded nowhere in the capitalist world except Italy.

"A drive toward a policy of full employment" initiated by the CLC leadership in its Labor Day message is now advancing from BC right across the country. As part of the Ontario Federation's planned six regional conferences across Ontario, the Metro Toronto Labor Council, in alliance with the Brampton, Oshawa, Oakville and Coburg councils, has called a two-day conference on October 21-22. Conferences will also be held in Kingston, October 12; Sault Ste. Marie, October 14; Windsor, October 17; St. Catharines, October 19; and Orillia, October 24.

The conferences are designed to involve a cross-section of the community. They will open a wide discussion, make a positive and concrete attempt to bring about a much needed service for the unemployed, and decided on a program of action to alleviate unemployment. Out of the Ontario conferences will come a major policy statement to be presented to the delegates at the November OFL convention.

The conferences can provide the means to once again project the organized labor movement forward as the spearhead of all the working peoples' interests, and into mass actions such as it demonstrated its capacity for on the October 15 Protest. The conferences, and the OFL and its political arm NDP, will have to consider a program of action to assure everyone seeking work has the to work.

While the CLC has endorsed concept of indexing wages to COLA clauses in union contracts they have not yet been won on basis. A campaign should be under way to win COLA clause every contract and to help fixed-income to have that protected against inflation with metric increases.

The demand for a shorter week at the same take-home sliding scale of hours in ever tract, is becoming essential to protect many workers from being off while a few are inveigle working overtime.

The working people of Canada are not prepared as Mr. Gillies, chairman of the Tory shadow cabinet, urges, to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." We want to protect and extend the highly complex and productive industrial plant that we have erected here. Extended plant shut-downs and plant closures that dump hundreds onto the scrap heap and turn entire communities into ghost towns are becoming increasingly frequent. The conferences must consider demanding that these closures cease, that the corporations' books be opened, that high salaries and bonuses of their executives be cut, dividends curtailed, and where thought advisable their capital be used to stockpile goods, or the plants be re-tooled to produce marketable goods—that they be placed under public ownership and the control of the workers employed in them.

The conferences should consider endorsing and getting behind the efforts of the NDP to compel the federal government to allocate public funds for a vast public works program that will provide badly needed low cost housing.

These conferences can mark a big stride forward in answering the enveloping crisis and developing the forces that could completely transform the economy to serve the vast majority of the population—not the corporate interests.

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 3, No. 3 (29) ISSN 0700-9038 September, 1977 Toronto 20 cents

Gas line risks in Canada, Benefits for US oil moguls

by Gord Donnelly

The Canada-U.S. agreement on a northern gas pipeline is being loudly touted by Liberal Labor Minister John Munro as a savior for Canadian jobs to drown the sounds of broadly held criticism from informed commentators. It is taking place under ominous conditions—not the least of which is Ottawa's contravention of its Lysky Commission report, which

called for \$200 million for social compensation to be paid in advance to Yukoners. The federal government, it appears, will run this fund itself. It also appears that the settling of a hookup to Canadian gas fields is still far from certain and that Canadian consumers will have to pay for the "privilege" of tapping in.

What does a northern gas pipeline mean for Canada? On the basis of

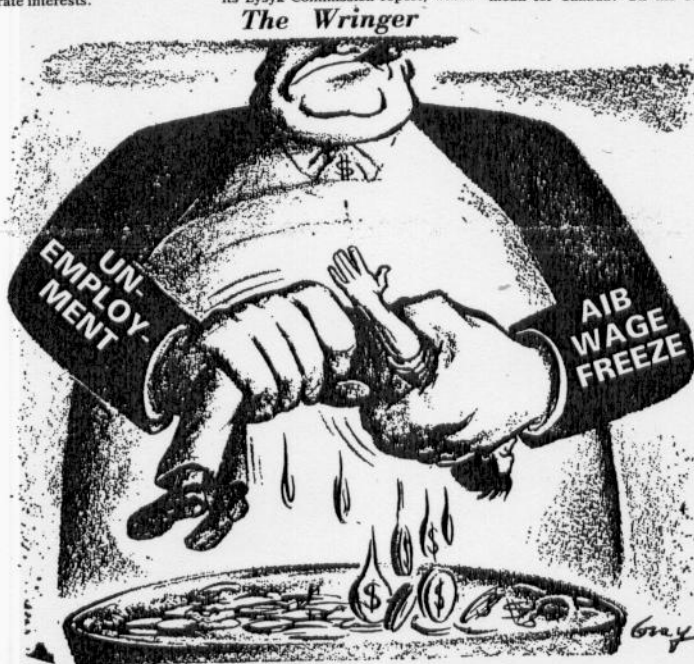
available evidence—high risks, low benefits, and strengthening the grip of U.S. imperialist control over Canada.

The decision by the Canadian government to negotiate the Alaska Highway route with the U.S. government was preceded by a great show of study. The Berger Commission spent three years exhaustively studying the Mackenzie Valley route, which was dumped, while the Lysky Commission, whose proposal was accepted, took all of four months to study the Alaska Highway (Alcan) route which includes almost 3,000 miles of pipeline through Alaska, the Yukon, northeastern B.C., Alberta, and southwestern Saskatchewan. For a gas line to deliver U.S. gas from Prudhoe Bay to the southern 48 states!

Then, the National Energy Board approved the Alcan route with the proviso that a spur line to link the pipeline to the Mackenzie delta, where Canadian gas in the northern Yukon is located, be incorporated in the final plans. Parliament saw a two-day "debate" followed by a quickie cabinet decision to ratify what was a foregone conclusion.

Ironically, the rationale for Canada's embarking on a gas line project in the first place was to provide urgently needed energy supplies to protect our future—so we were told by the oil corporations and their faithful echo, the Canadian government. The Alcan route is to achieve deliverability of U.S. gas, and maybe some Canadian gas later on, at an estimated cost of \$10 billion, assuming no serious cost overruns notwithstanding the notoriety of all previous experience of pipeline projects in North America. Moreover, the NEB's recommended Canadian spur line has been challenged from an environmental point of view by the Lysky Commission because it would pass through Yukon territory considered to be too fragile by the Berger report as testified to by the resident Native people. And, astonishing as it may seem, the Mackenzie delta has too few proven reserves to justify a pipeline and—guess what?—Alberta is having trouble selling off its current oversupply of natural gas from conventional sources.

The recommendation of the Lysky Commission has been widely questioned. While its report admits pipeline construction would pose serious problems for the North in terms of social dislocation of the Yukon Natives, inflation, few permanent jobs, alcoholism, prostitution, negative effects on tourism which is so important to the local economy, and many other ills, the Commission offers palliatives to justify the project. An advance payment of \$50 million is recommended as a seductive pre-treaty advance that the federal government would make for a future land claim settlement. The Yukon Indians and whites are to be granted \$200 million by the pipeline companies (subject to U.S. negotiations) to



Quebec's new language law sets next stage of struggle

by John Morgan

Overwhelming approval by francophone Québécois greeted the passage of the Parti Québécois' Charter of the French Language—Bill 101—into law. But it has met with open sabotage and declarations of defiance by anglophone school boards, which admitted an estimated 1,500 to 2,000 illegal students to their schools in September. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal has also launched a challenge of Bill 101 to the Supreme Court of Canada, in the meantime promising to aid anglophone parents to disobey

the law, as has the predominantly francophone and conservative Catholic School Board in Montreal.

Prime Minister Trudeau openly fostered defiance of the law by hypocritically likening the parents resisting it to the opponents of conscription during the imperialist World Wars I and II (who were francophones, of course). Trudeau also assured aid from the federal government to any court challenge of Bill 101, but beyond a promise to examine the constitutionality of Quebec's language legislation, has so far de-

Quebec's new language law

P. 2

clined to challenge the law or to disallow it directly.

Francophone protestant school commissioners protested the PSB-GM's admission of illegal students, and the francophone catholic teachers union stated it will oppose its board's decision to start English instruction at Grade 1 instead of Grade 5 in certain schools to facilitate entry of new anglophone students.

Premier Lévesque warned, at a businessmen's seminar, that "We have made a firm decision not to give in to blackmail or to tolerate sabotage from inside or outside." He an-

nounced that school subsidies for illegally enrolled students would be withheld as would recognition of their diplomas. Refusing to be provoked into any such actions as rooting the illegal students out of the schools, Education Ministry official Clement Duhaime pointed out that the actions of the school boards would only victimize the students, and in the long run financially hurt the English schools.

More flagrant was Ottawa's open encouragement of the Fort Chimo Inuit defiance of the Charter. Press and radio coverage given Inuit leader Charlie Watt's provocative actions of cutting off water supplies, pulling down the Quebec flag and raising the Canadian, and telling Quebec officials to clear out or risk being kidnapped, were motivated by a desire to create a glaring point of

Continued on page 7

Continued from page 1

resistance against supposed injustices of Bill 101. Lévesque personally assured the Inuit (and the Cree Indians who declared their support of Bill 101) that their linguistic rights would be safeguarded, and dropped the requirements they communicate with the government in French.

The miserable provocations in the north were a relief for Ottawa from embarrassment it faced at the nine provincial premiers' conference earlier, which met Lévesque's challenge for a reciprocal agreement on minority language education rights by proffering a meaningless pledge to further study the situation in English Canadian provinces. The PQ offered to drop the requirement that anglophone students moving to Quebec attend French schools if francophones were guaranteed French schools in the rest of the country. Under pressure from Prime Minister Trudeau even Saskatchewan NDP Premier Blakeney revised his initial support, and their blanket rejection was a slap at the Québécois, and another boost for **Indépendentism**. For all their talk about "national unity", the NDP premiers missed a golden opportunity to rebuke Trudeau and place English Canadian workers in unity with Quebec workers in their legitimate aspirations. Since then Trudeau in a cynical counter-maneuver has gone so far as to propose that his government is prepared to make a constitutional amendment to guarantee minority education rights throughout Canada, with special status for Quebec, something he has long firmly refused.

With the Charter of the French language—Bill 101—now law, the PQ government has not only taken a giant stride in making French the language of work and education—it has also gone a long way to assuring a victory for its referendum on independence, now planned for 1979.

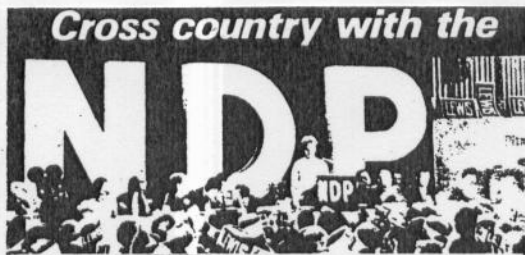
An ovation greeted Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin as he spoke before the vote on Bill 101 (substituted for Bill 1 to get around and opposition filibuster). He said the bill marks a "a decisive gesture for the liberation and promotion of Quebec workers...it is for the humble people of our country...rather than for the bosses and the rich."

Although the PQ maintains its distance from the union movement the powerful influence that it has had in the ranks of the working class movement can hardly be lessening. The

minimum wage is \$3.15 an hour in Quebec, the highest rate in Canada, and a strong anti-scab bill protecting striking workers is now awaiting final reading in the National Assembly.

Bill 45 not only prohibits hiring of goon squads but the hiring of scabs during a strike. It also curbs the sacred right of companies to hire and fire workers at will, guaranteeing strikers their jobs after the settlement. The Rand Formula (under which non-union members under contract must pay union dues) would be universal. One of the PQ's election commitments, the bill was advanced on the order paper when seven strikers were shot at by security guards during an attempt to stop scabs at the giant U.S. Robin Hood Multifood plant in Montreal. Labor Minister Pierre-Marc Johnson announced the measure as a means of "redressing an imbalance of forces that results when a company attempts to replace striking employees." Although the PQ has shown itself vulnerable to the considerable pressures of big business—with which it constantly seeks accommodation—it realizes it must count on its base in the militant Quebec working class to achieve victory for the referendum, and independence.

As such, the experience of the PQ government is at present a powerful and positive political experience for Quebec workers, for eating only increases the appetite. Workers in English Canada cannot help observing what is going on in Quebec, and the PQ experience has many lessons for the future of the New Democratic Party in the rest of Canada.



by D. Bradshaw

Cross country with the

NDP

Br. LP ranks and fascist threat

As the economic crisis deepens in Britain manifesting itself in high inflation and worsening unemployment, racism is becoming more overt and more dangerously divisive of the working class. The populist demagogues of the fascist right have become emboldened by the British Labor Party leadership's failure to implement a socialist alternative to propping up a decaying British capitalism at the expense of the working class. As the workers' standard of living plummets, it is shackled by the shameless deal of the "social contract" which freezes wages negotiated between the opportunist leadership of the trade union bureaucracy and its counterpart in the BLP.

With the resultant disorientation of the workers movement and a growing awareness of the need for radical solutions, the burgeoning fascist groups—the National Front and the British National Party—felt able to organize a provocative, racist demonstration in Lewisham (a suburb of London) last month.

The fascists have been whipping up a hysterical campaign calling for the repatriation of approximately two million Blacks and Asians in Britain. This campaign has been abetted by a wave of terror directed against immigrant workers, including beatings, bombing of restaurants and taverns accompanied by an increasing frequency of assaults directed against all currents on the left including BLP officers and activists.

The virulent epidemic of racism was intended to reach a new peak of intimidation with a fascist march through the largely immigrant,

working class borough of Lewisham. When the BLP socialists and other socialist groups, notably the Socialist Workers Party, attempted to prevent the miserable demonstration of 500 fascists from gaining control of the streets, 4,000 London bobbies, in the name of "law and order" protected the fascists. Moreover they launched a vicious attack against the anti-fascists, arresting almost 200 of them. However, the fascists were sent packing by the thousands of militants before they could reach there rally point.

In the aftermath of the violent confrontation between the right and left at Lewisham, and subsequently in Birmingham, the capitalist press, supported by some right wing Labor Party politicians, has been carrying a hypocritical campaign for legislation to outlaw all marches by so-called "extremists".

Inherent in such legislation is the danger that it will not be used against the right but against the labor movement and the socialist left as the percolating social crisis advances towards its boiling point.

In as much as the trade unions and the BLP are organizations commanding the support and allegiance of millions of British workers, immigrant and non-immigrant alike, socialists in these organizations are challenged to launch a class-struggle campaign and program against the bankrupt reformism of the leaderships and replace them. The real solution to the decay of British capitalism and to its barbaric last resort to fascism is a planned, socialist society controlled under the democratic institutions of workers' control.

Ont. NDP leadership contest demonstrates vacuum on left

The NDP leadership race, following Stephen Lewis' sudden resignation after the party's weak showing in the last provincial election, is posing a serious challenge to all sections of the party.

The defeat of the opportunist electoral strategy of the party leadership coupled with the rapid approach of an economic recession have demonstrated the bankruptcy of the leadership's approach to a large and growing cross-section of party rank and filers. The left in the party has been challenged with an opening that has been widened by the fact that there is no obvious establishment candidate to replace Lewis. What is clearly needed is a serious socialist alternative that would educate party members about principled socialism and unify leftist forces into a caucus.

The front runner would seem to be NDP House leader and staunch proponent of "make minority government work", Ian Deans. Deans, the first declared candidate, has the backing of several caucus members, mostly from the Hamilton area, as well as the top-brass of the influential Steelworkers' union. However, Deans' reputation for being a maverick has opened the field for other right wing contenders in the party.

No left candidate has thus far appeared, although there are left elements who would be enthusiastic about a socialist campaign. In reality, the lack of an organized left wing rules out such a campaign. Even though, largely through the efforts of Dovercourt MPP Tony Lupusella, left-wing elements organized a short but intense campaign in August to draft Nickel Belt MPP Floyd Laughren to run for the leadership, he declined to stand. He was approached because of his reputation as a socialist and a former Waffle activist who

stands firm on the need for nationalization of resource industries as a central thrust of the party program. The brief campaign was crowned by a social at Lupusella's house attended by over 100 party members from some 25 ridings including nine MPP's, one MP and three Toronto alderman—but to no avail.

Laughren's decision not to run has left the socialist elements of the party sitting on the sidelines in the leadership race. The absence of an organized left caucus is responsible for the loss of one of the rare opportunities open for socialist education which could unify the left and check the right wing trend in the party. Now there is the danger that the leadership will recover from their temporary period of dis-equilibrium and take the party even more to the right and further compromise the NDP in the eyes of class conscious working people.

The lack of a left caucus at this critical juncture demonstrates the vacuum of leadership on the left in the party. The lesson for socialist party activists is that it is now more urgent than ever that the left begin to organize itself and prepare for the battles ahead. If we are to have no leadership candidate, then the focus must be in other areas: first-of all, to run credible left candidates for all open party positions; secondly, to fight every inch of the way against attempts to water down the party program and ignore convention decisions; and thirdly, for socialist NDPers to work to rebuild a socialist caucus now with a program geared to win the NDP to socialism.

→ P 2



Schreyer leads into Man. election

Manitoba NDP leader Ed Schreyer, facing the problem of getting re-elected after eight years in office, has begun the campaign with promises to doubting Manitobans that if elected he really would stay for his term of office. And although, from the beginning a faithful supporter of Trudeau's wage freeze policies, he now states that he would pull the province out of the program this fall and would re-open free, collective bargaining.

The Schreyer government's support of the federal Liberals' Anti-Inflation Board has alienated trade union militants. Schreyer is the architect of many actions which have also compromised the NDP in the eyes of socialists and Canadian nationalists—such as his flirtation with Liberal offers to head up the NEB or take a federal cabinet post.

Schreyer's government has rushed ahead with plans to build massive hydro-electric power dams on the Nelson River, for U.S. power export, despite strong opposition from Native groups who will stand to lose much of their traditional habitat.

Such flagrant opportunism

by the party leader has led many workers and farmers in Manitoba to question whether the NDP is different from the Liberals and Tories.

But the NDP, even under Schreyer's mis-leadership, is different. Despite the leadership's crass opportunism, the NDP remains a labor-based party whose presence has considerably modified the power of Big Business rule.

Under the NDP government, Manitoba has experienced the provincial takeover of automobile insurance and the passage of mining laws and regulations which the industry bitterly opposes. Besides the NDP's record on rent rebates, there is the new divorce law which abolishes fault in marriage break-up but guarantees the equal division of all personal and business assets. And to the Schreyer government's credit is the Worker's Place of Safety Act, which calls for employer-employee committees to determine safety standards.

The challenge for socialists and trade union activists is to carry forward an uncompromising labor program for the party and to fight for commitment to it during the election.

6 FORWARD, September 1977



by Calvin Johansson

Cdn autonomy

For over four years now the ranks of the Canadian section of the Building Trades department of the AFL-CIO have been in struggle with their U.S. bosses to establish a Canadian council that would be elected by Canadian building trades workers and have the authority for construction unions in Canada. At present, the Canadian section is represented by a 31-member advisory board of vice-presidents for Canada, all of whom are either elected or appointed in the U.S.

The Canadian ranks have carried this struggle against what is perhaps one of the most reactionary and bureaucratic U.S. trade union leaderships. The paternalistic, branch plant attitude of the construction union brass was never more evident than two years ago. In 1975, these 'leaders' withheld dues, which come from Canadian members, to the Canadian Labor Congress after a set of Canadian autonomy guidelines for international unions was passed in a convention. Evidently, the dues of Canadian workers cannot be used to build a strong Canadian trade union movement.

The arrogance of the U.S. brass continued when in July 1977, Robert Georgine, U.S. president, came to

Canada and told the Canadian building trades members that "a structure of some sort" would be established to be a voice for Canadian members. Small wonder that Clive Ballentine, business manager for the Metro Toronto Building Trades, angrily said, "I told him it was not good enough."

For too many years, the needs and aspirations of Canadian trade unionists who belong to U.S.-based trade unions have been thwarted and ignored by the U.S. brass. Canadian labor history contains many stories of strikes that have been weakened or broken by the actions of U.S. union bureaucrats who have often worked closer with the federal government and Canadian company bosses than the Canadian rank and file.

Over the past few years, as independent Canadian unions (notably in the public sector) have continued to grow in numbers and strength, while U.S.-based unions have shown little or no growth, the voices for Canadian autonomy have grown in the U.S.-based unions. The way in which the Canadian ranks of the AFL-CIO Building Trades have continued to wage their struggle is a positive development for all Canadian trade unionists.

The RCMP should be dismantled

by Randy Notte

Following close on the heels of the Praxis break-in scandal and disclosures of file robberies from left-wing organizations, came last month's revelation that the RCMP's security agencies maintain files on NDP leader Ed Broadbent. Mr. Trudeau, after a hiatus of several weeks, attempted to dismiss Mr. Broadbent's concern with a "so what?" After all, the Prime Minister shrewdly guessed, the RCMP likely had a file on him because "I went to Russia in '52, to Communist China", and that didn't prevent him from becoming Prime Minister. The main point of Trudeau's cynical comments is to confirm — and whitewash — secret police surveillance of Canadians.

Also made public was the fact that the Security Service (or SS as it is more popularly known) and the Security Planning and Analysis Group maintains files, on the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), the National Farmers' Union, the Indian Association of Alberta, individual gay people, the left-wing of the NDP and other groups.

Despite Broadbent's reference to the file on him as a "laughable" matter which would make "pretty poor reading", he has arisen as the opposition voice in this affair, promising to raise the matter when parliament resumes its fall sittings.

CUPE President Grace Hartman

summed up the ramifications of intelligence gathering in a salient manner when writing to Solicitor-General Francis Fox: "The members of my union woke up this morning to find themselves branded as security risks by their Government. They don't know how their Government collected this information or why, or when, or how it's being used. All they know is that some mysterious branch of the Solicitor-General's Department has waved a blacklist of names and organizations at them. We don't know who is on the list and we certainly don't know why ...

"We don't know what this police and security planning and analysis branch is, or who runs it, or how many agents it may have. Do we have a Canadian CIA studying our activities, habits and friends?"

Hartman's letter reveals the ignorance of most Canadians about the RCMP's internal workings and activities. And most of us are going to stay that way, too. The solicitor-general in his reply to Ed Broadbent stated explicitly that his government has no intention of either confirming or denying the existence of files. Secrecy being so necessary to the maintenance of the capitalist state, his reply hardly comes as a surprise. Indeed, even Colonel Bourne of the Analysis Branch alleged that rivals in the SS consistently refused to turn over needed informa-

tion to him. So if a 'state G-man' can not get the information he needs, how can the victims of state surveillance — union, NDP and other political activists — ever hope to find out what tabs the state is keeping on them and for what purpose any information is being used?

This secrecy is one of things that divorces the nation's cops from the rest of society. Indeed, for police to be used as an effective tool at the disposal of the capitalist state, not only must secrecy and cloak-and-dagger machinations be considered a necessity but the cops themselves must be isolated from the population at large. To first of all tote a gun, then to systematically bully and possibly kill people with it, and then to get paid twice as much as the average wage earner, commands a marked respect without which any policing function is impossible.

And the vast network of secret police schools, political indoctrination sessions where the works of Marxist theoreticians are "taught" by RCMP sleuths, and quasi-military barrack life encampments only serve to reinforce the anti-social instincts systematically engendered into police forces.

But file-gathering on innocent people doesn't amount to that much when compared to some of the more notorious activities currently bring-

ing infamy to the RCMP. Persistent buggings, robberies and other criminal acts (now firmly established as recognized police practice) serve to expose the Mounties as agents of repression more concerned with victimizing and pouncing on leftists and other representatives of the oppressed than in upholding abstract 'justice'. As guardians of capitalist property rights, their role is not to uphold justice but to ensure the protection of the ruling class. This was amply demonstrated at the turn of the century when the Mounties became the chief federal instrument for quelling native peoples struggles and again in the '30's when they infiltrated unions and violently broke up strikes.

The RCMP is clearly an instrument used by the capitalist class to suppress the labor movement, the NDP and activists in mass movements. Therefore, it is incumbent on these forces to call for the dismantling of this body of armed men isolated from society, subject to hierarchical discipline, and operating as an invisible government. A government with true popular support has no need for these practices. It would have no fear of integrating all police forces into the population, organizing militias based on popular support and participation and under direct daily supervision by the working people themselves.

#29 Sept 1977

The way out of the Confederation crisis

A Constituent Assembly & a new Constitution

Unity Train under way

Having bought the worked-over Freedom Train that was used to ballyhoo the Bi-Centennial over the highways and byways of the United States of America, Ottawa and seven of the heads of provincial governments are financing its refurbishing as The Discovery Train.

Next year and possibly for another four, without charge from the CPR and CNR, it will be appearing in hamlet and town from coast to coast—that is where the track has not been ripped up on the new principle of user pays. Of course, as officials assure us, it will avoid any political character. It is only designed to harmlessly help all classes, from capital to wage-labor, all Canadians, regardless of race, creed or color, to understand Canada, to discover themselves in one another—a sort of Unity Train.

The Stars and Strips will be scraped off, the eagles and the images of the Pentagon and State Department offices rubbed and scrubbed away—and, it is hoped, everyone will forget that it is a hand-me-down from Big Brother, Uncle Sam. It will also, hopefully be overlooked that Quebec has declined to participate. The Lévesque government used the nicety of budgetary reasons, with which "wage freeze" and "cut-back" Trudeau can hardly disagree. But one gets the feeling, regardless of PQ politeness, that they think that it is some kind of anti-Quebec independence gimmick.

As the train is undergoing cosmetic treatment it appears that Trudeau's task force for Canadian Unity is in some difficulty. It is not monetary. Three of the four Canadian Unity groups that Ottawa has struck off since the PQ victory of November 15 appear to be going full blast. They are applying for budgets totaling about \$5 million—which it is apparent not even the NDP caucus will question. Thorson, former deputy-minister of justice, now as the prime minister's special advisor on constitutional reform, has things in hand in his area. Mr. Lefebvre's information branch has worked out a \$1¼ million budget for publications costs. The group headed by Tellier as deputy-secretary of the federal-provincial relations bureau responsible for Canadian unity, drawing on the resources of all federal government departments, is pulling together a staff of 15.

After a two month long delay Trudeau's Task Force for Canadian Unity finally found a Quebec representative, in two persons—one male—Gerald Beaudoin, dean of civil law at the University of Ottawa, and one female—Solange Chaput-Rolland, former Canadian representative at the UN, journalist. However in this embarrassing interval its joint chairmen, Jean-Luc Pepin, formerly head of the Anti-Inflation Board, and John Robarts, erstwhile Tory premier of Ontario, managed to meet with 15 groups across the country, including Canada United, Decision Canada, Destiny Canada, Quebec-Canada, Rallis Canada, and even one called Group Without A Name.

While legal brains tangle Blakeney plots a solution

What started out as a ringing declaration for the federalist status quo and a denial of Quebec's right to national sovereignty, by the august Canadian Bar Association in convention in Ottawa, ended up as much less—with the possibility of being interpreted as quite the opposite.

The biggest legal minds in the country in the final vote of what was left of the much-amended Declaration of Policy ended up deciding to create a committee to "search for a definition of the essential attributes of a Canadian federalism." In the process of voting on the amendments they voted, as a perspicacious *Globe and Mail* columnist put it, "not to say that no province has the legal right to separate...not to say that Canadians desire to live in a single country...not to say that the Government of Canada should have sufficient authority to maintain a viable nation from sea to sea." The resolution that passed easily was one proposing that a declaration of fundamental rights be embedded in the constitution of Canada.

The most effective appeal for support of the federalist state of Canada, surprising in the light of Ottawa's continuous challenges to the legislation of his government, was made by guest speaker Saskatchewan's NDP Premier Alan Blakeney.

Blakeney attempted to define the most obvious aspects of the problem—the lack of a strong distinctive Canadian identity, which he urged could only be developed "by making Canada more Canadian." Referring not to Quebec but to the centrifugal forces of regionalism, he suggested that Halifax where now "more industries and business...are mostly subsidiaries of Ontario and U.S. corporations" has "like many other cities and regions of Canada moved...to something much more resembling colonial status..." He said "Canada over the centuries appears to have two problems: one, relations with the U.S. ('I don't think it possible to have an independent country with an almost totally dependent economy' and 'with a heavily dependent culture') and two, relations between French and English. It is my submission that these two problems are so closely related as to be virtually one problem when we as Canadians know what we want Canada to be in relation to the U.S."

While recognizing that conflicting class interests are involved but without so much as hinting that there is a Canadian capitalist ruling class whose interests now predominate, he urged a continuation of what he characterized as a Canadian tradition. "The tradition of compromise" is what, according to Blakeney, led Canada to "not join in the American rebellion against Britain" (1776) and which resulted in Confederation (1867). While in reality this is the root cause of today's crisis, according to Blakeney "it is a tradition which provides the solution of our present dilemma. Canada was born out of accommodation...It will survive by accommodation," he said.

To the two now often repeated points of accommodation to Quebec—special constitutional arrangements for one or more but not all provinces and large scale bilingual programs across Canada, Blakeney added two more of his own: one, "to encourage or at least tolerate—trade unions based on linguistic groups" and two, "encourage or at least tolerate wider public ownership of industry in Quebec."

Among other guest speakers was Robert Cliche, former Quebec NDP leader, and now a Quebec court judge, who told the Association that it should present a draft of a new constitution for the consideration of the people. Another guest speaker, newspaper columnist Anthony Westell, suggested that a constituent assembly of Canadians would make a useful contribution to finding solutions.

The social dynamics of the Quebec nationalist movement

Trudeau leads federalist attack against Parti Québécois

(from Labor Challenge July 1977)

The following is the second installment of a three part article on the constitutional crisis now confronting Canada. The first, appearing in the May 1977 issue, dealt with the BNA Act and Confederation. Copies can be obtained by writing to FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto.

By Ross Dowson

Confederation, the structuring of Canada into a single national state, imposed on its components of 1867 by the nascent indigenous capitalist class in collusion with British imperialist interests, contained, but it by no means eliminated several explosive elements.

The Fathers of Confederation anticipated that the conquered nations of Quebec and the Native Peoples (Indian, Métis and Inuit) would be constrained and ultimately assimilated in the case of the former, and in the case of the latter, driven to the outer edges of the community and destroyed as an effective force.

But 79 years after the British conquest. Lord Durham in his report following the brutal defeat of the 1837 revolutionary uprisings against the British yoke in both Lower and Upper Canada informed the British Foreign Office, "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people. Instead I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state."

Lord Durham expressed the anticipation of those who looked to the destruction of the French nation through the processes of assimilation, with the words: ..it will be acknowledged by everyone who has observed the progress of Anglo-Saxon colonization in America that sooner or later the English race is sure to predominate even numerically ally in Lower Canada (Québec) as they predominate already by their superior knowledge, energy and wealth. The error, therefore, to which the present contest must be attributed, is the vain endeavor to preserve a French Canadian nationality in the midst of Anglo-American colonies and states..."

Nonetheless the French-Canadian nationality has been more than preserved. Inflamed by the hanging of Riel and the destruction of the Métis Republic, the conscription of her youth for the foreign World Wars I and II, sustained for many years by conservative clerical forces, until, following the so-called Quiet Revolution of the sixties, in November 1976 it took the stage as the Parti Québécois in power in the Quebec National Assembly.

What is the PQ and what are the general configurations of the movement which it heads? Will the sovereign Quebec state which it projects be socialist as the editors of the *Globe and Mail* and *Financial Post* warn or will it be a xenophobic, racist, even fascist state as, others are so bold as to suggest? And with Quebec wrenched out, what is the

future for anglophone (*English-speaking –ed.*) Canada? Will it survive as a nation, or will the continuing process of economic integration with the U.S. result in its complete structural integration?

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whom the noted historian Arthur Lower has described as “the country's sheet anchor” around whom “Like it or not all those who love their country must rally... (since) he represents the only adequate bridge between two people,” has led the assault on the PQ and its declared aim of the establishment of a sovereign Quebec nation state.

In Saskatoon this spring he charged the PQ with being a fifth column, an insidious enemy within Canada which “wants to destroy this country” and urged that its representatives be barred from getting a hearing—“they are trying to con you,” he warned.

At one of his weekly news conferences in June, Trudeau in effect rejected any discussions with Quebec government officials. As a precondition he said that “he wants to make sure that Mr. Lévesque (*leader of the Parti Québécois –ed.*) ... wants to remain in Confederation.” And “I am not in favor of the thesis put forward that the premier of Quebec is speaking on behalf of a founding people.”

In an early May interview with Agence France Presse, and in a speech at Laval University, he not only attacked the established criteria that define any nation, including Quebec as a nation. He ridiculed the very “idea that a nation must be sovereign.” He flung the label of “ethnocentricity” on the policy of the PQ—a term which the widely syndicated Southam Press columnist Charles Lynch conceded is nothing but a “polite term for racism.”

The common thread that runs through the arguments of nearly all those who have succumbed to the high-powered campaign for Canadian national unity is the failure to recognize that the francophones of Quebec, the overwhelming majority of its population, are a nation, an oppressed nation within the Canadian state and by that fact have the elementary democratic right to self-determination, up to and including separation itself.

The term colony (a colony of Anglo-Canadian and U.S. Capital) sometimes used to describe Quebec, and Canada itself, as a colony of the U.S. instead of clarifying only confuses the question. The economy of Quebec unlike the so-called underdeveloped world, the Third World, is not agrarian, but that of the advanced capitalist world which, while suffering from elements of regional underdevelopment, is essentially the same as the rest of Canada. The central form of class antagonism is the conflict between capitalism, (Anglo-Canadian. U.S. and a dependent Quebec capitalism) and a highly urbanized, unionized and militant working class. Nationalism is not solely the credo of the tiny Quebec middle class but permeates the consciousness of the working class heightening its class unity and combativity. Lise Payette, the popular PQ minister of consumer affairs and financial institutions, attacked the business community last month with exercising “shameful blackmail” of the government, charging it with being people

"without a flag, without nationalism and without a sense of identity."

The state forms are of a bourgeois democratic character. While the struggle for an independent Quebec has been projected by some as posing a socialist revolution and even armed struggle, the PQ winning an electoral majority in the Quebec Assembly gave the struggle for a sovereign Quebec a qualitative leap forward. The PQ government accused by its federalist opposition of already acting as if it headed a sovereign state has been implementing legislation such as its French language law that would appear to almost guarantee a yes vote for Quebec sovereignty in the coming referendum. It would appear that Quebec independence is going to be won in the cold way (*i.e., a transformation of bourgeois state relations rather than socialist independence ed.**) While nothing is excluded, there is no longer talk about federal armed intervention against separation it is apparent that any such adventure would tear apart the country from coast to coast in an irreconcilable civil war.

What has sustained the consciousness of the Québécois that they do indeed constitute a nation is largely their cultural oppression—the denial of their language rights, outside the borders of Quebec where they are being assimilated, but above all in Quebec where they constitute the majority.

Trudeau, in a recent speech in Winnipeg, presented facts which explain above all the alienation of the aspiring Québécois middle class professional. "The population of Quebec is more than 80% French-speaking. Yet out of Quebec's 100 largest business firms, only four have five or more French-Canadian executives—and 43 of these firms do not have a single French Canadian in their senior ranks." He also noted that while francophones constitute 27% of the Canadian population they constitute less than 15% in the federal public service.

The parliamentary commission hearings that the PQ government has been holding on its proposed language Bill 1, an avidly followed public forum, recently heard Yvon Charbonneau, president of the French-speaking teachers' union—the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec, present its 93-page brief.

Charbonneau explained the class character of the language question. "The alienation of the Québécois people, a people of wage earners in search of a fatherland, is first economic in nature: it derives from the position that its overwhelming majority occupies in the process of production: the bottom of the ladder." Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin enthusiastically responded that the PQ bill to francisize the Quebec economy, to make French the language at the work place, is to get at the roots of "the economic alienation" of the Québécois.

The election of the PQ government was widely celebrated. While they subsequently recanted, almost the entire NDP leadership, along with union leaders such as McDermott of the UAW, hailed it. After all, the defeat of Bourassa constituted a body blow to the capitalist party par excellence, the Liberals—a blow from which their Quebec wing has yet to show the slightest sign of recovery. The response of the so-called revolutionary left

—that nothing had changed— only revealed its own myopia. The PQ victory not only signified a new opening for the Québécois, which they readily understood, but also for anglophone Canadian politics.

Of course the PQ is neither a socialist nor a labor party. It is a petit-bourgeois party, its leadership largely composed of middle class professionals and technocrats with a background that is even more solidly respectable than any government in the country. While the editors of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and the *Financial Post* label them socialist, neither the party's program nor its leadership, for all their promised reforms, present a consistent anti-capitalist perspective, although Lévesque has said the party is socialist on the Swedish model. It is the rupture that its meteoric growth and election into office has brought to Quebec society, the mass character of the party which makes it the most popularly rooted in the country, the high anticipation of its ranks reflected in the party's endorsement by the Quebec Federation of Labor, that open up such possibilities for social change in Quebec and the rest of the country.

The PQ is a nationalist party firmly committed to the establishment of an independent and sovereign Quebec. While the leadership is now in the process of opportunistically laying aside some of its social program and it is not excluded that some elements may capitulate to the high-powered opposition of federalism, as a party it is being persistently firmed up and evermore irrevocably committed to independence. With the formal establishment of Quebec sovereignty its popular, largely working class base, will be confronted with the challenge of what to do with that sovereignty, with the question of what kind of Quebec they wanted to build. While the PQ is not a labor party its rise has continued to pose the question of such a party which it would now seem certain can only come out of further experiences of the class with the PQ. Thus the PQ would appear to be a highly unstable and even transitional form in the continued radicalization of the Québécois.

The national aspirations of the Québécois, rooted in some 250 years of oppression, and which have given the working class struggles there a sharp cutting edge, have never been understood by the federalist-oriented reformist NDP and CLC leadership — particularly that wing that functions primarily as an extension of the U.S.-based so-called international unions. The rigidity of the CLC leadership, modified only at the 1974 Vancouver convention, left important sectors of the working class to unionize outside of its ranks and to realize unity of action only in the Common Fronts.

The struggles within the Quebec CCF to tune the party into the national aspirations of the Québécois led by Jean-Marie Bédard, Michel Chartrand and others were frustrated and defeated by the Ottawa leadership. This false policy of the CCF-NDP leadership has had the two-fold result of **one**; dooming the CCF-NDP to the existence of a tiny irrelevant sect which it remains to this day, and **two**; leaving the situation open so that such a formation as the PQ would arise to fill the gap.

This confusion in the anglophone working class movement is typified by the editorial

that appears in the April issue of *True North*, a monthly sponsored by a wide range of union leaders in the Sudbury district. It declares that nationalism in Quebec represents only the interests of the middle class, "the injured egos of 2% of the population of Quebec." Echoing the witch-hunt charges that Trudeau has leveled at the CBC. "using both the French and English language media both in Quebec and the rest of Canada," this tiny middle class, according to Editor Carl Dow, actually "created the cultural conditions for the election of the PQ." This same 2%, while Quebec, under the union leadership, "stood on the threshold of real social reform... seized an opportunity to subvert this genuine democratic social and economic development." Dow caps off his version of history as conspiracy with a warning about nationalism—including the nationalism of oppressed peoples—not to "forget the lessons of Hitler and his National Socialists, and the wormy workings of Mussolini, to say nothing of the right-wing nationalist governments of today in Africa and South America and Asia."

Grace McInnis, the daughter of CCF founder J.S. Woodsworth and NDP MP for nine years, lends herself to an interview in the series that the editors of the *Toronto Star* state quite frankly seek "opinions on how to persuade Quebec to remain in Confederation." She too concentrates her fire not on the perpetrators of national oppression but upon nationalism, which she warns "can be devastatingly dangerous... Where nationalism and socialism are found in one group of Individuals," she says, "there will be a conflict and nationalism is always going to win." According to McInnis, separatism doesn't stem from the masses in Quebec but merely from feelings of insecurity in working people. The answer is "give people jobs..."

In this, McInnis merely follows the line of NDP leader Broadbent whose top priority is not to popularize the legitimate grievances of the Québécois and to defend the right of the Québécois nation to self-determination, but to keep the country together. Noting that "you find that fully 40% of Quebecers under the age of 30 now are moving in a separatist direction" he has been appealing to the Trudeau government to initiate a job creation program aimed at young Québécois. With such a program by a government which has declared it has no solutions to the present economic crisis, according to advisor Broadbent "we'd win the battle, if you like, for the hearts and minds of those who are not yet committed to separatism by that clear demonstration of a national government that cares for Quebecers."

While Quebec's course towards national sovereignty is proving ever more clearly, in the words of Lévesque, to be irreversible, and thus the question of what is to become of anglophone Canada is ever more on the order of the day, the central focus of Ottawa's pan-Canadian campaign remains Quebec. By concentrating it there Ottawa hopes to hold anglophone Canada together as a bloc of forces against Quebec. Besides the key decision is to be made in no place other than Quebec by none other than the Québécois.

Of course Trudeau is not addressing himself to the PQ and the growing forces for Quebec national sovereignty. He has declared irreconcilable war against them. Trudeau is trying to rally together and firm up every rag-tag and bob-tail of opposition to the PQ referendum in Quebec, to overcome the petty schisms between the Liberals, the Progressive Conservatives, the Union Nationale and the Créditistes. He is out to

consolidate whatever forces of opposition that he can scrape together, to polarize the opposition to a "yes" vote in the referendum on national sovereignty.

By so doing, of course, he polarizes the forces which favor a "yes" vote in the referendum. All the dynamics of the situation favor a "yes" vote. Should the vote register a defeat for independence it cannot be a final answer, for the Québécois' struggle is inevitable and irrepressible. And all the while the processes of disintegration continue to work away at the rest of Canada, continuing to pose the need for a constituent assembly to prepare a new constitution that will serve twentieth century Canada in a world that is in the process of fundamental change.

*(*Indeed a small majority of francophone Québécois voted for independence in the referendum, however outweighed by anglophone and immigrant votes they narrowly lost— Web. Ed.)*

(end of Part. 2 of 3) (see Part 3 in Forward, September, No. 29)

ON OCTOBER 6

/ 77

VOTE UNITED LEFT SLATE

Stong: Ian Kellogg
Joanne Pritchard, Young Socialists

MacLaughlin: Rob McMaster, Young Socialists

Founders: Linda Blanchet, Young Socialists

The United Left Slate is an open, democratic coalition, with a seven-year tradition on York. It involves individuals and groups on the left, including members of the NDP, Socialist League, and Young Socialists.

The ULS has come together to present an alternative to the present leadership of the CYSF. What follows is an outline of our platform.

RESCIND THE FEE HIKES

This fall students at York are paying a 17 percent increase in tuition fees over last year. For international students the situation is even worse. They face a 250 percent hike in fees. Moreover, they are prevented from working in Canada, making the cost of a post-secondary education in Ontario virtually prohibitive for international students.

These tuition fee increases will further limit

accessibility to post-secondary education in this province. Those hit hardest by these measures are women, international students, and students from working-class homes.

Education should be the right of all who desire it, regardless of their economic resources. We must demand the rescinding of these tuition hikes as a first step in the fight to make university accessible to all.

NO TO THE GOVERNMENT'S STUDENT AID PROPOSAL

On September 21, Ontario Minister of Colleges and Universities, Harry Parrott, announced the "principles" of a new student grant program to take effect next year. Instead of making university more accessible to most students, this new plan will in fact make a university education more expensive for the vast majority of students, both undergraduate and graduate.

Under Parrott's proposals, students will no longer need to take out a \$1,000 loan before they can get a grant. However, fewer students will be eligible for grants and the amount of grant most students receive will likely be smaller than in the past. The Ontario Federation of Students estimates that 7,200 students—20 percent of those now receiving grants—will be denied them next year. Why is this the case?

First, under the new proposal, grants will only be available for the first four years a student is attending a post-secondary institution, regardless of how many courses the student takes in any given year. Students who wish to proceed to graduate school will no longer be eligible for grants, only loans. This will make it more difficult for students from working-class homes to pursue their studies beyond the undergraduate level.

Secondly, while Parrott has not disclosed how much money parents will be expected to

contribute to their children's education based on their income, it is expected to be much more than is the case under the present system of student aid.

Thirdly, under the new proposal, it will be much more difficult than now to qualify as an independent student (one who is not expected to receive any financial assistance from parents and is therefore eligible for more government aid.)

The net result of these changes—the four-year limit on student grants, the higher parental contribution expected, and the greater difficulty in qualifying as an independent student—will be to drastically increase the cost of a post-secondary education for most students.

The new student grant program proposed by the Ontario government must be rejected! The parental contribution should be eliminated, student aid should be based on the real needs of the individual student, and there should be no limit on the number of years during which a student can receive grants. In place of the present loan/grant student aid program and Parrott's completely inadequate proposals, we support an all-grant system of student aid coupled with the abolition of tuition so that all those who wish to attend university can do so regardless of their financial means.

ORGANIZE AGAINST STUDENT UNEMPLOYMENT

Last summer the unemployment rate for those aged 15-24 was 15 percent, almost twice as high as the national average. In August, the half million youth without jobs accounted for close to 60 percent of all those unemployed, even though young people constitute only 30 percent of the workforce. At the end of July, 164,000 students who wanted to return to school were still without work. This high rate of student unemployment is a

major factor explaining why enrollment is lower than expected on many campuses this fall.

Like cutbacks in student aid and tuition hikes, student unemployment serves to further limit the number who can continue their education at the post-secondary level.

In response to this unemployment crisis the labor movement has begun to take up the

demand of jobs for all. We call on CYSF, working with the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students, to unite with labor in a campaign for full employment. At York this includes support to the York University Staff Association, the York University Faculty Association, and the Graduate Assistants Association in their efforts to win decent contracts from the university administration in the face of cutbacks, a faculty hiring freeze, and the threat of layoffs.

A massive program of public works is needed to provide both employment and much-needed social services such as housing, health care, recreational and educational facilities. As part of the struggle for full employment, students should campaign for guaranteed summer jobs, and jobs upon graduation in their field of study. The opportunity to acquire a well-paying and interesting job, like university accessibility, should be the right of everyone.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Women are systematically discriminated against in all areas of society, and this university is no exception. Women's educational and job opportunities are severely limited by sexist policies and attitudes. When they can find work at all, women are channelled into the lowest-paying jobs, and so must rely heavily on student aid to finance their education. The current restrictive abortion law prevents women from choosing whether or not to bear children. Cuts in child care affect many women's ability to attend school. Women's studies courses, often hard-won

through students' struggles, are among the first to go when course lists are trimmed.

A ULS student council would support women's demand for: adequate funding of services of particular concern to women such as Harbinger and Breakthrough; fully-subsidized quality child care for university students, staff, and faculty; the right to abortion; and accredited women's studies program at York; preferential admissions and hiring of women to redress discrimination; equal pay and equal work for women.

WHAT KIND OF STUDENT COUNCIL IS NEEDED?

Faced with tuition hikes, severe cuts in student aid, and large-scale unemployment, we need a student council that is prepared to defend our rights.

Letter-writing campaigns and meetings between student representatives and government officials will not by themselves turn back the current attacks on our right to an education. These policies are not the result of a misunderstanding or an error on the part of the government. They are not simply the actions of a particularly strict government official or two. Cutbacks, tuition increases, and the tightening of the student aid policies of the Ontario government are all recommendations made in the McKeough-Henderson report of 1975. The goal of this report is quite explicit:

to shift more and more of the burden of education expense from the government onto the individual.

The only way to reverse this conscious government offensive on education is through mass actions which can force the government to back down, a fact which the existing CYSF leadership is unwilling to face. The ULS will fight on CYSF for the perspective of highly visible campaigns which mobilize all students on York, regardless of their college affiliation. It will also argue for such a perspective in the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students, both of which are federations that represent thousands of students, with the potential for leading successful struggles in defense of our rights.

WHAT WOULD A ULS STUDENT COUNCIL DO?

In addition to the important issues already mentioned, there are many other issues affecting students which a student council cannot ignore. The recently-passed Immigration Act C-24 is a serious attack on the civil and democratic rights of international students, broadening the grounds for denying them entry, and deporting them without the right to appeal.

Supporters of "Canadian unity" are beginning to organize meetings and conferences on campuses across the country, whipping up opposition to the national aspirations of the Quebecois. This poses the need to organize meetings in which representatives of the Quebecois can state their case and defend

the right of Quebec to self-determination.

Besides the general prejudice and bigotry that lesbians and gay men face in this society, lesbian and gay students suffer additional discrimination—homosexual couples are denied the right to live in the much cheaper married students' residences, a right that is not denied to heterosexual couples.

The Report of the President's Commission on the Goals and Objectives for York has opened up a debate on the future structure of the university. Students, the people who will be directly affected by any changes, must have a voice in these discussions.

The ULS calls for a CYSF that will organize public meetings on these and other topics which directly affect students.

**FOR A STUDENT COUNCIL THAT FIGHTS
FOR STUDENTS' RIGHTS . . .**

VOTE UNITED LEFT SLATE

Stong:

Ian Kellogg

Joanne Pritchard, Young Socialists

MacLaughlin:

Rob McMaster, Young Socialists

Founders:

Linda Blanchet, Young Socialists

THE DREAM IS OVER

"... and what are YOU going to do when you leave school?"

x We have been taught a myth. A myth that says that if we behaved well, went to school, got high marks, went to university, that we would succeed. All our problems would be solved. As we are finding out this was only a dream. We find ourselves aimlessly plodding the halls of an alienating institution with a feeling that somehow things are not going that well. What with mass unemployment in the summer, low paying part-time jobs, higher tuitions fees, cutbacks in education and social services, little possibility of any real meaningful career, you begin to wonder if there's any place you'd rather be. If you're a woman, you face the legacy of centuries of oppression, the statistically proven probability of low paying or ghettoized jobs, constant pressure to get into family-life and be "normal", the unavailability of abortion and childcare and many other problems. If you happen to be a third world student, you face an essentially racist policy from all levels of government, whether it is the attempt by the Provincial Tory government to triple your tuition fees, or the federal Liberal governments harassment through the immigration department which has now been bolstered by the bringing down of new racist Immigration policy. This attitude of the government (which characterized recent immigrants as those with "novel and distinctive features") has encouraged the increasing racist attacks that have occurred. If you're gay (and ten per cent of us are) you face discrimination in housing at York, the possibility of being fired from a job if your sexual orientation is disclosed (as in the case of John Damien), and if you are a lesbian mother, you face the real threat of having your children taken from you. All of us face certain forms of oppression, whether we're a gay worker in the Library or steel plant, or a woman student from the Caribbean, and we have to stand up and fight together if we wish to eliminate this oppression.

WHO LEARNS? WHO PROFITS?

Education was greatly expanded in the sixties when the economy was booming, idealism was in the air, and Vietnam was a 'healthy little war' in an isolated part of the 'free world.' The corporations needed large numbers of skilled workers to keep their profits high through continuous expansion and technological development. It was for this reason that York and other universities were established and expanded to keep up with the demand. Little wonder then that the York Board of Governors is dominated by the banks and those very same corporations. The universities main purpose in society is to turn out skilled technicians, management employees, corporate researchers, and a few PR people to tell you all the nice things that corporations do for us. Yes, we do learn about philosophy and there are courses in Political Science, etc., but their basic purpose is to rationalize and help perpetuate the ideas that hold this unjust society together.

(2) Coincidentally the corporations and banks who sit on the Board are also involved in imperialist exploitation of the Third World, owning mines and factories in South Africa, controlling the economies of the Caribbean region, extracting resources from Latin American jungle, and everywhere paying bare subsistence wages.

In the more recent period of economic crisis the corporations and their government's policy on education has changed. They no longer need large numbers of skilled workers, and with mass unemployment (up to 1.1 million people), they know they can get plenty of workers at suppressed salaries and wages.

cont'd.

Instead the rallying cry is now cutbacks, from university education to the hospitals. The education, and the right to education, that they have made such a fuss about is shown to be an illusion hiding their real policy of serving the economic interests of big business.

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?

The economic crisis that the capitalist system has itself produced is having numerous consequences. The capitalists and their governments are being forced to make workers, students, and other poor and oppressed people pay for this economic crisis. So we see the wage controls, tuition fees to raise the share students pay for being 'programmed' into corporate and factory life, attacks on women's rights including good affordable childcare, and decreasing amounts being put into areas that provide social services, and racist immigration laws which blame the third world immigrants for the problems of the society that the capitalist system has itself caused.

THE OPPOSITION: IN THE WORKPLACE AND IN THE SCHOOLS

These attacks by the government have generated a series of responses by those affected. From last October 14th's mass strike of 1 million workers to the recent demonstrations in BC including one of 4,000 at UBC, of students protesting government cutbacks, various forms of activity have brought greater pressure to bear on ruling class offensive. Last fall, a broad committee at McMaster University against the Differential fee hike for international students and against the cutbacks, was able to organize two militant disruptions involving 200 students of the Senate. As a result, the Senate refused to implement the differential fee hike. This was a major victory against the government and its attacks. It is only through a perspective of militant mobilization of students, and campus staff, and of getting working class support that we can hope to win any major victories.

QUEBEC: LET THE QUEBECOIS DECIDE

In Quebec the election of the Parti Quebecois has brought the question of national oppression of the Quebecois to the fore. Quebec has been systematically denied the right to decide its own future since the British conquest. Unemployment is higher in Quebec than most of Canada, the wages are quite often lower, all major companies are owned by English-Canadians and Americans, and the right to speak French, the national language is constantly infringed upon. Students must not fall into the governments' trap

3) of "national unity". In doing this, we would only be strengthening the governments and corporations that are themselves attacking us. Rather students and the bodies they control should organize a series of educational discussions to explain what is happening in Quebec, and campaign to defend Quebec's right to decide its own future.

WHAT IS NEEDED : AN ORGANIZED STRUGGLE

The student council, rather than being an elitist body for aspiring politicians, must be a body that facilitates the involvement of other students. It must base itself on mass meetings of students, where the students themselves can decide what is to be done. Around issues like the cutbacks, the CYSF must try to set up broad committees involving students who are not in the CYSF. A campus coalition between the GAA (grad. students assoc.), YUFA (faculty), YUSA and CUPE (staff), and students must be formed if we want any results. Such a committee could mobilize all sectors of the campus that are not only opposed to the cutbacks in education and social services, but are also opposed to, and are often directly affected (either working here or, in the case of students, will soon face); the wage controls.

cont'd

The right-wing Hayden slate would have CYSF pull out of OFS and NUS (provincial and national student organizations). They propose this because OFS and NUS are the only organizations that presently exist, and by pulling out, they would be making sure that no real struggles against cutbacks and tuition fee hikes could be launched. The fact that these organizations have made serious mistakes in the way they have led the opposition to this point, such as their over-emphasis of lobbying the government, instead of developing a militant mass action strategy, should not lead us to breaking from these bodies since they do represent the only organized cross-province and cross-country student formations. Those, like Hayden, who support a pull-out are simply speaking in the interests of the political parties of the ruling class, the Liberals and the Conservatives, and know that faithful service in keeping the students unorganized and confused will potentially pay off in position in the government apparatus itself. They know which side they're on. How about you?

THE ALTERNATIVE?

The university is part of capitalist society. It will only be transformed through the mass struggles of the working class, and all those oppressed by this society. The large majority of students fall into that category, and will eventually be part of the work force themselves. We, as students, should not just be concerned about our own issues, but should actively support the struggles of others fighting exploitation, racism, sexism, and English/White chauvanism. A university that would serve students and the majority of society will only be built as part of a total struggle which will create a socialist society.

Voting for the United Left Slate (ULS) in these elections, is a vote in opposition to the cutbacks and other attacks. An abstention offers no solution to the question of how to demonstrate, in one form, opposition. However, we do not feel this is the

(4) only step. Voting once a year entails little effort, and if that's all that happens, will not succeed in defeating the cutbacks. Those who consider themselves part of the left should see their major role in organizing students on campus, so that if the ULS loses, they will still be an effective opposition that is truly rooted in the campus. A ULS victory, if it led to our becoming isolated in "official" bodies and unresponsive to the active student body, is a serious danger that must not be underestimated. Only the most democratic methods of decision-making and organizing can avoid this.

VOTE U L S!

VOTE YES TO OFS AND NUS !

ORGANIZE AGAINST TUITION FEE HIKEs AND CUTBACKS!

AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY IN THE SERVICE OF CAPITAL!

SIGNED PHIL HEBERT GRAD. STUD. ULS (acclaimed)
PAM FITZGERALD WINTERS ULS (acclaimed)

radicalization declined (!)

amendments Nov 21

Tasks and Perspectives report

with wage controls ending there will be no surge in activity

? - food price declining - overproduction & recession

attempts to trade union leadership

I Economic Conjuncture

allow for wage freeze and look to pull out spring

3) PO victory 4) CNE omos =

With unemployment recently having increased to the range of 7.5% to 8%, with 700,000 out of work making it a 15 year high in unemployment levels, with inflation going into a rise again, with another recession imminent

with the Canadian government imposing wage freeze and the American government (to become tougher) is \$7.42. thinking of following suit, we may consider this period to be one of rising class conflict. Not only have we recently seen the most extensive labour action in North American history this Oct. 14 but the indications are that the economic situation is not going to deteriorate with another recession about to unfold as soon as 1977 not that the last one has been entirely left behind either.

It has been the evaluation of the movement in the past that with the most initial attacks on the standard of living of the workers there could be an immediate militant reaction. While many of the left in the previous radicalization wave of the 60's doubted the revolutionary potential of the working class, France in '68 and now Canada in October 1976 established the necessity of a proletarian orientation for the Canadian left.

bourgeois agents are predicting increases in both inflation & unemployment - Arthur Smith of self chance of a general depression

laborate is can't recover - inflation rate higher

manifesto as a unified

- Canada never recovered from the last recession - due to specific character of the Cdn economy & its ties to U.S. - high price of dollar & integration into American market condemns Canada to ever increasing trade deficits & increasingly to be a resource supplier to American & Japanese economies

heightening of nat. consciousness to deepen

leadership struggles in trade union movement

II The Development of ~~an~~ Proletarian Orientation

haven't we always had a proletarian orientation?

The task of developing ~~an~~ orientation to the proletariat is both a political~~ly~~ and organizational question.

First of all we do not intend to develop an orientation to the entire proletariat of the entire world, we intend to speak to the Canadian workers. As such we have to develop a transitional program for Canada. While it is generally recognized that the transitional ^{program}/differs for workers in the workers' states as compared to the capitalist countries, ~~we~~ the same need to develop a concrete national program is not generally recognized as being necessary when it comes to dealing with the individual capitalist countries whether it be fascist, or a bourgeois democracy; ^{or} whether it be an imperialist power or an imperialized country. Consequently by addressing the consciousness of the proletariat in the context of objective reality we have pointed to the need to struggle for an independent socialist Canada. The workers' alienation from the class structure of Canadian society takes the form of a nationalist consciousness which is anti-imperialist and ~~the~~ in the Canadian context necessarily anti-capitalist in character.

Oct 14
- rise of union mov.
- characterization of leadership
- CCC manifests
- OFA manifests

The essential aspect to a programme is the means it provides for the proletariat to break away from bourgeois ideology and bourgeois organizations. While nationalism provides the means to leave the realm of bourgeois ideology through the door of bourgeois thought, it is the union movement and the NDP, which provides the highest expression of the independent organizations of the class, both of which provide the independence of ~~the~~ class politics and the framework for the continued development of the proletarian consciousness as formalized ~~it~~ in its programme.

As a result we consider the Canadian labour party , the NDP, to be the strategic party of workers in this period to which we give our unconditional and critical support. The NDP has demonstrated its capacity to adapt to the interests of labour by adopting the programatic points present in the consciousness of the vanguard ~~of~~ workers. The NDP now generally accepts the main programmatic points of the Waffle (nationalization of the resource of the economy), the points of opposition of the CIC to the AIB, the demands of the women's movement and the student movement. The NDP has not been bypassed either programmatically or organizationally.

In this period of heightened class consciousness the energies of the labour movement, to the extent that they have moved into the political arena, have moved into the NDP. Even ~~the remnants~~ ^{significant segments} of the Waffle have moved back into the NDP. This is one reason that the revolutionary left is presently in its malaise. Its fundamental isolation from the class has led it to be ~~largely~~ ^{largely} bypassed by the class. While the CP is making minimal headway, it is the major organizations of the class that retain the support the workers and in fact retain the increased and still increasing support of the proletariat. So while our politics is tuned into the real consciousness of the class, it ^{only} serves to build up our political capital or reputation without providing ~~any~~ immediate organizational benefits. Similarly the nationalist consciousness that is continuing to develop and deepen in its class content has not found any significant organizational form. The CPPA and the CIC are merely shells of organizations with no movement associated with them. The anti-imperialist consciousness has also been directed into the organizations of the class. Canadian autonomy in the labour movement has become the stated policy of the CIC and the NDP leadership carries itself as if there were no differences in program with the Waffle.

H.P.
H.K.

state
of requirement
not an agenda
is RMG statement

explain
how we
have
sustained
ourselves
as differentiated
from
other
Tenners
is
maintained
paper
(spoken to
class)

IV The Development of the Socialist League

How has the movement tied into this objective process? First we were able to evaluate the situation correctly in that we recognized the strategic aspects of the Canadian revolutionary process in this period; the NDP and the Canadian nationalist sentiment. Secondly we were able to integrate ourselves into the organizational expressions of the class.

1) The NDP

Over the past year we have only begun to develop an ongoing systematic work in the NDP and yet we have progressed very far in terms of our influence and the development of an alternative left leadership to the present leadership of the NDP. The campaigns of Harry Paine and Harry Kopyto serve to point this out for us. What we have not been able to do is to develop a functioning ~~left~~ class struggle caucus in the NDP. Internally while we have continually cited the necessity of a functioning NDP committee ~~and~~ with most of the ~~member~~ comrades integrated in the NDP we have not been able to achieve this primary organizational task.

Tasks
- making
of Forward
into more
of a mass
paper.
- preserve
Trotskyism

- how about an evaluation of the new dyedue situation into NDP?
 - lack of redbaiting & purges?
 - attempts to co-opt a left-wing in formation?
 - breakthrough in Ontario?
 - defeat in B.C.?
 - capitulation in Manitoba & Sask?
 - full support to Oct. 14?
 - total lack of an organized left wing?
 - possibilities of intervening in municipal politics to build a left wing?
- how concretely will an organized left wing be built & where?

Found in 1977 (Nov.)

(RD notations)

DRAFT OUTLINE OF A POLITICAL REPORT

Background

The organizational ^(?) fate of the Trotskyist movement in Canada has always been determined by the political period and political level of understanding at any given point of time.

Going back to the early 1940's, we can see how successively, the war hysteria around the Second Imperialist World War, the radicalization of the labour movement in the late 40's, the onset of McCarthyite repression in the early 50's, the rise of labour militancy in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the student and youth radicalization in the late 60's and the quiescent mood of the labour movement in the early 70's have all left an indelible mark on the organized Trotskyist movement.

For us in the Socialist League, two aspects of our collective heritage, take on immediate significance: first, the perennial problem of a very thin cadres, so thin at times that it would appear to almost have been personified in one figure; secondly, the totally disorienting impact which the largely petty bourgeois radicalization of the 60's had on the League for Socialist Action.

? The second factor is largely responsible for the existence of the Revolutionary Workers' League, a sectarian organization which, though blessed with the benediction of the Fourth International, is ~~also~~ fraught with ultra-Leftism Adventurism, formalistic interpretations of the national question in Canada and Quebec and a narrow and abstract interpretation of the significance of the New Democratic Party, which is fast creating a disdain for serious political work in the New Democratic Party from a long term, non-split perspective.

The first factor, however, in many respects may be regarded as the causal factor for the preponderance of ultra-Leftism in the Trotskyist movement. It is also the chief weakness of the Socialist League at the present.

The Current Situation

The current economic and political situation internationally and within Canada offers the Socialist League an appropriate period for sober assessment of its organizational and political tasks. The deepening economic recession of world capitalism has created in Canada an inflationary spiral combined with a wage freeze on one hand, and unemployment levels unheard of since the Depression days. Though these economic factors cannot be presumed to entail a consistent militant reaction from the Labour movement in an automatic fashion, it would be odd indeed if the Labour movement does not begin to reflect a growing rank and file militancy over the next few years.

The present mood of the Canadian working class is in many respects similar to the mood which characterized the

American working class during the early years of the Depression prior to the wave of sit down strikes that properly ushered in the first wave of militant response. A significant number of workers still entertain illusions about the necessity for an anti-inflation programme; unemployment has not yet given rise to consistent and sustained protests from major trade unions; the hue and cry about government over spending and the necessity for cut-backs has had its effect on certain segments of the Canadian working class.

All in all, the Canadian working class has not yet broken from the ideological rationalizations of Canada's capitalist rulers.

But just as the accumulation of varied experiences between 1929 and 1933 finally led the industrial sector of the American working class to occupy their factories, so also the accumulated experiences of the Canadian working class during this period when an offensive is being systematically directed against them, is bound to dispel the cynicism and demoralization within the Labour movement at present.

Combined with a major influx of youth into the job market, a dramatic increase in the number of women in the work force and a class consciousness deepened by an appreciation of U.S. domination of our economic and political life, the future radicalization is bound to have dimensions unparalleled in Canada's Labour history.

Still casting its shadow over the future of Canadian political life is the massive one-day general strike which swept the country in 1976 in protest against the anti-inflation Board. Though reflecting the massive inertia which decades of relatively uninterrupted prosperity have created within the trade union movement, the participation of one million workers, in one form or another, in the general strike is a clear sign that the future radicalization will be proletarian in nature and will be massive and militant in character.

Bolshevik Norms & Edctr of cadre

Though its members may be few, the Socialist League has a significant role to play in this entire process. Our's is the only Marxist-Leninist organization with an transitional programme and the knowledge of how to apply it in the significant arenas of the political class struggle, including the New Democratic Party. But what distinguishes us from others in this milieu is that we are a democratic-centralist Bolshevik organization. Our norms, our programme and our cadres have been tested in real life for some time. These are our most valuable acquisitions. Without cadres trained to have a long-term perspective of political activity and an appreciation of the methods of building a revolutionary vanguard party, without the Bolshevik norms, standards of membership and atmosphere necessity to work effectively in different milieus and respond to various challenges in the unfolding class struggle, and without a programme constantly being adjusted and tested in real life, the Socialist League would have no justification for existence. The current internal situation within the Socialist

*Self
glorification*

League is not healthy. The authority of branch decisions have been undermined by sporadic attendance on the part of some comrades. The ability to do political work in different areas has been injured by a lack of participation in political decision making by comrades who are leading activists in such areas. Refusal by various comrades to attend membership meetings, a lack of financial commitment and a supercilious attitude to sustaining the main expressions of the Socialist League's public face has created within the organization a category of individuals who would best be described as "sympathizers". Such a situation cannot be tolerated for any length of time without the organization itself beginning to suffer from the irreversible consequences.

Accordingly, the foremost threat to the Socialist League's integrity and growth comes from within itself. The members of the Socialist League who are not prepared to live up to these norms should consider alterations in their status.

The process of accumulating cadres is the most important one for a group which aspires to be a revolutionary vanguard party. Though an atmosphere conducive to serious political work is absolutely necessary in order to develop such a cadres, it is also equally important that the cadres itself be fully rooted in the theoretical heritage of Marxist thought. For some years, the level of educational activity of the branch has been abysmally low, on some occasions, approaching non-existence. This fact is most ironic in light of the nature of our work in this political period, which is largely educational. The real political questions that bothers comrades must be brought into the movement, into the branch meetings and systematically structured into our political discussions. Major emphasis must be placed on educating new recruits on the theoretical roots of our practice. The basic Marxist and Leninist and Trotskyist writings must be related to the new and varied experiences of the class. The Socialist League must continuously generate an appreciation of political questions that arise daily using the method of Marxist thought. The main aim of our educational programme must be to arm comrades with a clear understanding of the political justification for the programme which we advance in external areas of work as well as the deep appreciation of the highly distinct nature of the organization itself. Cadres who have a full appreciation of the importance of accepting responsibility in both external areas of work as well as internal administrative areas, and who accept political responsibility for the entire programme of the movement as well as organizational responsibility for the well being of the movement as a whole cannot be produced except in a highly conscious fashion through a carefully planned and thought-out educational programme that is both relevant to current problems yet imbued with the historical perspective of Marxism.

In order to meet the inevitable challenges and opportunities which will lay before the Socialist League as the organizational representative of the orthodox Trotskyist approach, a clear emphasis must be placed on all of us to meaningfully reaffirm our commitment to Bolshevik norms of membership and to

consciously expand and develop a serious educational programme.

Our Public Face

There is no justification for any major turn in the public face of the Socialist League at the present. No political tendency, milieu or current of political thought presently exists which would offer us major opportunities to grow through a process of affiliation, unification or entry. Though potentially significant connexions are presently available to us in the Canadian nationalist milieu, it is obvious that our interaction with such groups will be on a propagandistic and journalistic level for some time.

The New Democratic Party continues to offer to the Socialist League the most significant arena for the expression of our political propaganda and the benefits of work in this milieu are bound to grow in the coming period of growing economic hardship and greater pressure upon the working class to respond to the economic degeneration of international capital. Most, if not all comrades, must be members and activists in the constituency associations of the New Democratic Party and accept executive responsibility in secondary positions. Since this situation presently exists to a significant extent, and since there is no basis for a policy of "entrism sui generis" into the New Democratic Party at present or in the foreseeable future, there is no reason which would justify eliminating the public face of the Socialist League.

It is the norm for an organization which aspires to lead the working class toward revolutionary conquest to have a public face. There are clear advantages to having a publically accessible headquarters and a political bookstore that can sustain itself financially. The Socialist League should affirm its commitment to sustaining these two aspects of the organizational operation. They are essential ingredients for growth.

Our propagandistic work takes on special significance in this period. Such work is mainly directed through our paper which is the sine qua non for us. We can emphasize this task of our movement by identifying with our paper by name as well as politically. Such a change could assist us in certain sensitive areas of work and provide us with an opportunity to advertise Forward on a consistent basis and to attempt to create a sentiment of recognition and support for the paper's contents. The political situation in Canada right now is characterized by two major crises for the Canadian bourgeoisie: the impending creation of a new state where the province of Quebec once stood and an unmasking of the crass nature of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Yet the inertia of the Canadian working class is very deep, as witnessed by the defeat of two of the three NDP provincial governments and the inability of the federal and Ontario New Democratic Parties to consolidate previous levels of parliamentary support. Without an upturn in the current economic situation internationally, an unlikely prospect indeed, the currents of radicalization which superficially rippled through the students and youth

*Take of Significance
Forward Readers*

in the 1960's has the potential of becoming a deep and powerful stream in the heart of the proletariat. No other political current has the political programme and organizational structure needed to recruit the proletarian cadres needed to replenish the worker's vanguard. It is with this appreciation that this political resolution is presented for adoption.

by

Harry Kopyto

Nov 30/77

Randy Notte's document, Proposed Line on the Gay Liberation Movement, is an interesting and valuable contribution to the discussions within the movement regarding this area of work.

However, issue must be taken with Comrade Notte on two questions, whether the gay liberation movement is revolutionary and secondly, whether the slogan "Gay is Good" should be advanced by the gay liberation movement. On page 6 of his document Comrade Notte writes as follows:

From an early age, children are modelled on their parents' image: father strong, mother weak, etc. They are cautioned on the 'sins' of masturbation, homosexuality, and heterosexual relations outside the confines of Holy Matrimony. To be just like mommy and daddy you really must be just as moral, and more importantly, just as heterosexual as mommy and daddy. For without this very important restriction on human sexual affairs, the whole importance of 'mommies' and 'daddies' simply falls away. Without a rigid enforcement of a heterosexual norm, a sine qua non for the family's very being could not and cannot exist. Thus the whole tradition of Judaeo-Christian morality and capitalist ethics is anchored in the concept that only heterosexual relationships--carefully controlled and made incumbent upon all--retain any validity at all.

Now the gay liberation movement, by asserting "Gay is Good" or "Gay is Just as Good as Straight" confronts this whole notion with a challenge that says enforced heterosexuality need not be the sole, legitimate sexual orientation. Its whole history has demonstrated that sexual relationships between individuals need not be channelled in any direction outside of personal choice. It has been a movement, which like the women's movement, demands control of our bodies. In this context, the gay liberation movement can be perceived as having a dynamic of revolutionary proportions.

The clear implication of the above quote is that the gay liberation movement, by promoting the concept that homosexual relationships are just as good as heterosexual relationships somehow challenges the capitalist heterosexual ethics necessary to maintain the family, and therefore, challenges capitalism. In Comrade Notte's view, this gives the gay liberation movement a "dynamic of revolutionary proportions".

Before dealing with our differences with this thesis, it should be instructive to indicate our points of agreement with Comrade Notte. We agree that discrimination against homosexuals is a by-product of class societies and of domination of the patriarchy over the matriarchial societies which pre-existed societies based on private ownership of the means of production. We agree also that homosexuals comprise a significant proportion of the population, whether they are latent or practicing. We agree that

various class societies at different times have imposed grave restrictions on the rights of homosexuals, and that homosexuals have been the object of severe acts of repression. We recognize that homosexuals have been the victims of backward religious prejudice and in some instances of policies of genocide. We agree as well that the ethics of class societies are heterosexual and that, these ethics are opposed to giving homosexuals equal rights in law.

We agree also that the gay liberation movement has arisen as a significant protest movement in this decade and that significant actions have taken place by this movement in defence of its rights. We also agree that the perspective of achieving civil rights through public action has been a worth while perspective in the gay liberation movement and that it is central to the ability of this movement to actually win its civil and human rights.

However, we cannot accept the analysis presented above by Comrade Notte with reference to the revolutionary dynamics of the gay liberation movement. Specifically, we do not believe that the achievement by gays of equal civil and human rights would challenge the institution of the nuclear family under capitalism, an institution so necessary for its continued existence. We are unaware of any empirical data which would suggest that homosexuality would somehow increase, resulting in a decline of the number of nuclear family units, should homosexuals be granted full civil and human rights.

] L.S.
fornal

There is now considerable agreement among sexologists that homosexuality is a behavioural pattern which is determined exclusively by environmental factors; more specifically, by interaction within the nuclear family unit at an early age. The process of sexual identification by a child with his parents takes place to a determinative extent at a very early age and is part of the entire learning and imitating process associated with socialization of children. Should homosexuals be granted equal status to heterosexuals in law, it is unlikely that such a development will have any perceptible affect on the process by means of which sexual identity is presently realized. In fact, by the time a child is old enough to be cautioned about the "sin" of homosexuality, his sexual preference has already been determined by profound psychological experiences. This profound psychological process cannot be modified or altered in any significant manner whatever by changes in the law. The nuclear family, or for that matter, the extended family of feudal societies, are the most deeply rooted institutions of class societies. While their form may change quite rapidly--visualize the recent rise of the nuclear family in a period of less than five hundred years--the essential behavioural patterns within the family, which give rise to heterosexual behavioural patterns, cannot be altered this rapidly. In fact, these processes are unlikely to be changed significantly to any extent until fundamental, social and economic changes take place which will first result in a restructuring of the society as a whole.

Comrade Notte, however, seems not to recognize this fact. We are of the opinion that the reason for his error lies in his methodology.

On page two of his document, Comrade Notte states as follows: "The Marxist tradition of gathering empirical data and interpreting them in light of subjective factors (better known as the materialist method) can aid gay people in understanding their oppression and in ultimately destroying it." We believe that this is not a proper statement of the materialist method and that, because of this misunderstanding, Comrade Notte comes to conclusions which cannot be supported.

The materialist method involves a recognition of the primacy of material factors in reality. Applied to historical phenomena, materialists recognize that the matrix of economic relationships in any given society is fundamental to analysis of the social, political and institutional aspects of that society. Using this approach, Marxists see the family as part and parcel of the development of private property and the state. Though the family as an institution contains certain fundamental features which do not directly serve the needs of capitalism (for example, the sharing of disposable income), the basic function of the family under capitalism is to socialize children and to provide a convenient unit of consumption for capitalism. Until capitalism itself is overthrown, that is until the fundamental matrix of economic relationships which constitute the capitalist system and which arise out of the specific mode of economic production characteristic of capitalism, are themselves changed, the essential features of the family under capitalism will themselves remain unchanged.

Counterpoised to this analysis is Comrade Notte's analysis which is idealist in method. Comrade Notte's document wrongly views the process of "rigid inforcement of a heterosexual norm, a *sine qua non* for the family's very being" as the decisive factor in maintaining a heterosexual capitalist ethic. He states that "without this very important restriction on human sexual affairs" referring to the imposition of rigid heterosexual norms, "the whole importance of 'mommies' and 'daddies' simply falls away". This view is in direct opposition to the analysis put forward here, namely that the functions and roles of parents are determined not by an abstract need to enforce capitalist heterosexual ethics, but rather by the fundamental needs of capitalism to find privatized and individual methods to socialize children, rather than having society as a whole accept the responsibility for the socialization, inculturation and education of children. Further, capitalist heterosexual ethics cannot be viewed by materialists as the cause of homosexuality. Rather, ethical and ideological institutions under capitalism, such as the family, the church, universities, et cetera, arise out of the economic and class relationships within society. They serve to cement the institutional repression which takes place within civil society, but they do not cause that repression. Comrade Notte's idealism shines through once again in his view that capitalist ethics could somehow be challenged by a movement of gays for equal rights or by gay propaganda to the effect that gay is just as good as straight.

A materialist analysis reveals that in fact only socialism, which would relieve the family of its functions under capitalism, could result in the natural development and expression of sexuality.

It is the revolutionary socialist movement and not the gay liberation movement which will be able to restructure society in such a fundamental way so as to create conditions of complete sexual freedom of expression.

Comrade Notte also compares the gay liberation movement to the women's movement in terms of its demand for control of our bodies. However, what gives the feminist movement its revolutionary dynamic is not its ideological opposition to capitalist patriarchy, because feminism in the abstract is merely a democratic concept akin to other democratic concepts associated with the rise of bourgeois democracy. The feminist movement, however, by raising demands such as twenty-four hour child care centres, equal pay for work of equal value and social responsibility for the raising of children, places demands on the capital systems which weaken it significantly. In fact, the feminist programme, were it fully realized, would fundamentally weaken the ability of the system to impose on the family responsibilities which properly belong in the social sphere. With the capitalist system having to accept responsibility for the raising of children, an important part of the capitalist economy would take on a socialized nature. In addition, those features of the nuclear family which have resulted in the oppression of women within the family would themselves be weakened if women had equal job opportunities to men. It is not an abstract struggle against "male chauvinism" or of capitalist patriarchal ethics which has given the feminist movement its revolutionary dynamic.

Within this context, we must appreciate that certain feminist demands, such as elimination of laws proscribing abortions, are democratic in essence. Such demands would give women the personal choice of whether they wish to bare children, but they would not significantly weaken the capitalist system per se. It is even unlikely that the removal of those parts of the criminal code of Canada which proscribe abortion would necessarily result in any significant change in the status of women in Canada, or of their political consciousness. While it would eliminate compulsory pregnancy among a certain class of women, and likely result in opening up options which would be unavailable to women who would otherwise not be able to realize these options because of large families, the demands which are directed towards giving women control of their bodies cannot be considered anti-capitalist at all.

While there is a parallel to be drawn between the gay liberation movement and the women's movement in this respect, it is only in this respect--its democratic thrust--that this parallel may be drawn.

There is no doubt that the gay liberation movement is a democratic movement. Its essential nature and direction, as Comrade Notte points out, is towards achieving full democratic and civil rights for homosexuals. This is a worthwhile goal in itself, and it deserves the support of revolutionary socialists, without attempting to justify the existence of the gay liberation movement by arguments suggesting that it is of a fundamentally revolutionary character.

For revolutionary socialists involved in gay liberation work, the perspective and analysis which we should bring to this movement should be similar to the perspective and analysis which we bring to all other movements for democratic rights. Primarily, this means that

our role within such a movement is to guide it in a direction where mass action around simple and clear demands can be achieved. No democratic movement has ever made any gains around generalized slogans or assertions. While such assertions of a generalized nature such as "Black is Beautiful" or "Gay is Good" may be an expression of the pride and self-confidence which such a democratic movement has, it is our responsibility as revolutionary socialists to advocate and raise specific demands which will serve to advance the democratic struggles. The actions of John Damien to be reinstated in his job as steward for the Ontario Racing Commission from which he was unjustly fired for being a homosexual, has done more to advance the interests of gay liberation than all the demonstrations and all the conferences which the gay liberation movement has held around the concept that "Gay is Good". Such a slogan cannot form the basis for broad and united campaigns which can win concrete concessions from the capitalist system.

Nor does the advancement of the slogan "Gay is Good" in any way serve to weaken the capitalist ethic of heterosexuality. The Black movement has not done away with racism by explaining or exposing its unscientific nature. Racism is part and parcel of the capitalist system and can only be combated by independent and united action against racist laws and racist practices. Similarly, the ideological institutions of capitalism which presently serve to perpetuate the heterosexual norm cannot be combated by a counter-ideological campaign of the gay liberation movement. Such a concept is replete with an idealist interpretation of social change as well. It is only concrete campaigns which give individuals confidence in their struggles which can serve to advance the democratic interests of minorities being unjustly discriminated against.

Comrade Notte states on page seven of his document: "the slogan 'Gay is Good' has never been aimed at proselytization nor to infer that homosexuality is in anyway superior to any other forms of sexual behaviour. It is simply an affirmation put in subjective form (as all slogans are), of the objective facts. This is why the left should soliderize with this slogan." We cannot agree that "Gay is Good" is a slogan. It is simply an expression of pride in a newly awakened democratic movement, and as an expression, it does nothing to advance the gay liberation movement in terms of its struggles against concrete instances of oppression. Neither do we agree that the left should soliderize with this "slogan" because it is an affirmation, put in subjective form of the objective facts. Revolutionary socialists do not soliderize with all subjective expressions of objective reality. We soliderize ourselves solely with those expressions which serve to advance the struggles of oppressed groupings for democratic rights, civil rights, human rights and those expressions which have a transitional character. This "slogan" does not fall into any of these categories. It does not make any demands on the system. It does not direct anyone to any concrete actions. Nor does this "slogan" politically advance the cause of gay liberation by its counter-position to prevailing bourgeois norms. As pointed out above, prevailing bourgeois norms are not going to be changed by counter-posing in the abstract non-bourgeois norms or revolutionary norms. It is only the struggle of real people for real rights that will advance the gay liberation movement.

Nor can we agree that "Gay is Good" is a political term for expressing empirical data. It is in fact not a political term at all, any more than the terms "Black is Beautiful" and "Sisterhood is Powerful". These are mere sentiments which express pride and which are not

political in the sense that they advance a struggle against the bourgeois state. In no sense can this term be interpreted as a call to serious political action.

The gay liberation movement in Canada at present is undergoing a major crisis as it stands at a cross road between advancing its democratic rights through legal and mass action on the one hand, and sectarian abstention from such struggles as a result of sectarian and ultra-left, multi-issuist approaches. The movement already suffers many debilitating features including a petti-bourgeois leadership, a highly cliquish and ingrown character, disdain for political support from straights, an obsession with coming out of the closet and a contempt for the overwhelming majority of gays who have no interest in coming out of the closet, a social atmosphere which avoids and hinders the process of political clarification, a rejection of campaigns capable of attracting significant mass backing in favour of demonstrative actions restricted to out of the closet gay participation, a growing "cultural" dimension constantly threatening to eclipse the political thrust of the movement and a tendency to legalism, constitutionalism, formalism, and political ultra-leftism alternating with and intertwined to political liberalism. Within this context, it becomes extremely important that our comrades involved in gay liberation work have a clear appreciation of both the possibilities and the limits of work in this area. Randy Notte's document is a valuable contribution in as much as it draws to the attention of the movement the long history of oppression which gays have suffered under class societies. However, because of comrade Notte's methodological deficiency, it fails to properly place the strategic perspective which revolutionary socialists must have in this area of work.

RCMP "crime sheet" exposed

**Gov't swaggers & staggers
as cover-up gets blown**

By Harry Kopyto

Since last June, when Solicitor-General Francis Fox described the 1972 break-in into the offices of Agence de Presse Libre du Québec as an isolated incident, the following revelations of RCMP wrong-doing have come to light:

- longstanding vast and illegal mail openings by the RCMP and Canadian Armed Forces security branches, and numerous illegal break-ins into private premises by the RCMP;
- a 1973 break-in at the Montreal offices of the Parti Québécois;
- trailing, espionage and phone tapping of such groups as the BC Native Alliance for Power, the Saskatchewan Metis Association, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the New Democratic Party of Quebec, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and possibly even the Tory party.

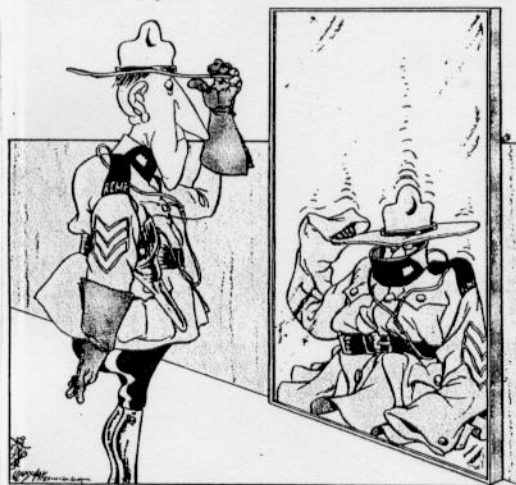
This Watergate-style whirlwind of revelations and accusations has begun to unravel the stark realities of Canadian government's major growth industry of the last decade—spying on its own citizens and their legally constituted social and political organizations.

Reports of government sanctions and cover-ups of these RCMP activities and further reports of the use of arson, bugging, lies and deception have pointed out the real subversive force that threatens the majority of Canadians—the federal government and its massive spy network centered in the RCMP and the army brass. Of one thing we can be sure: there is more to come.

The Trudeau government's reaction has been first to stonewall and then to justify the RCMP—even to the point of Trudeau's blatant call for legalization of the RCMP's illegal activities. With the handy cliché of national security as his major excuse, Trudeau finally admitted November 3 that the RCMP kept a close watch on labor and student unrest in the 1960's to "get a better appreciation of the spirit of confrontation that had marked our country." Evidently, that "appreciation" meant that every popular movement was a potential threat to "national security", that criminal acts were in order if they served the status quo and could be rationalized as in the national interest. The government's limitless obsession with movements of protest and for minority rights, which threaten only the political monopoly and dominance of big business, a small and ever-shrinking segment of the population, has finally led to a major political crisis within Canada's poli-

asked Solicitor-General Francis Fox to reveal what unions are being spied on, whether the RCMP breaks laws in collecting information on trade unions, what the information is used for, and why the business community gets briefed on this information. Although Francis Fox denied such spying activities against CUPE, he has been unable to explain why

continued on page 3



from the Edmonton Journal

Quebec's hopes high as Canada's stagnate

By the Editors

In these critical days of unemployment, inflation and police spies, to turn on the TV news and see a throng of 12,000 people wildly cheering a political leader in Canada is cause for pleasant bewonderment. It turns out the celebration is taking place in Quebec (still part of Canada, we remind ourselves) for a premier who has become the most popular ever—a national hero whose visit to France has catapulted him into international prominence as a fighter for the sovereignty of an oppressed people. This status he has achieved in the face of cold hostility from the government of Canada.

It was René Lévesque that we saw acknowledging the accolades on the "National," returning from his triumphal trip to the motherland of French language and culture, where he won virtual support for the Parti Québécois' campaign to establish an independent Quebec on North American soil.

Other Quebec premiers before Lévesque—and Prime Minister Trudeau himself—have travelled abroad and been correctly, even warmly, received, as protocol required. But this time French President Giscard d'Estaing awarded Lévesque the title "Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor"—the highest award possible to anyone not a head of state. But whereas Ottawa had broken off all relations with the tiny African state of Gabon when it dared grant a Quebec representative equal status with other state dignitaries at an educational conference, it could only complain that France's action was "illegal," claiming that protocol requires prior approval of such awards by Ottawa.

Furthermore, Canadian ambassador Pelletier hadn't even been invited to the special gathering of French National Assembly members where Lévesque spoke and where he was applauded at the mention of Bill 101 on the French language, and assured by the French president of support for "Quebec along the route that you will follow" towards sovereignty. All Pelletier could say was "Canada will not react in haste, but will analyse the visit as a whole before making a judgment," admitting Ottawa's impotence before this international act of recognition of Quebec's status as a nation.

It was with justice that Lévesque accepted the honor in the name of all Québécois—France's treading on the toes of Ottawa bears testimony to the power of Québécois nationalism, and its following rooted in the mass of working people.

That's who those people were on TV cheering Lévesque on his arrival back home, singing nationalist songs and waving signs saying "Oui au référendum"—a segment of Quebec workers who are lifting Lévesque and the PQ on their shoulders in an "irreversible" drive toward sovereignty. Later this month the largest union centrale, the Quebec Federation of Labor, will meet in convention to discuss a document titled "A Program for Today" which will cast a critical eye on the PQ government which it helped elect, and to demand that it act, as expected, "to open the way to more profound changes."

How long will it be before the working people in English Canada have such a cause to cheer, and a sense of solidarity of being a movement marching forward? A new Quebec is being born—and so too must a new Canada.

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 3, No. 6 [36] ISSN 0700-9038 Nov.-Dec. 1977 Toronto 20 cents

Public takeover answer to Inco

By Ellie Kirzner

INCO is not in Sudbury to mine nickel, charged Gib Gilchrist, an area supervisor of the Steelworkers. It is there to mine profits.

And profits were the first thing on its mind when INCO announced it was going to reduce its workforce in Sudbury and Thompson, Manitoba by 3,450. The lay-offs were INCO's little show of gratitude to the Canadian people, who have subsidized the company to the tune of \$378 million in deferred back taxes and an additional \$70 million poured into its operations in Guatemala. As taxpayers Sudbury miners were, in this way, financing the declared world oversupply of nickel, and thus their own unemployment.

Facing a declining world market, INCO chose Canada for its lay-offs, frankly admitting that governments in the Third World would not be as

part, cautioned critics of the lay-offs that businessmen were closely following public response as a bell-weather of the investment climate in Ontario. Timidly requesting INCO to appear before a House Committee, Davis pleaded for delicacy—MPP's should, he urged, deal in a "constructive, appropriate" way when questioning the company.

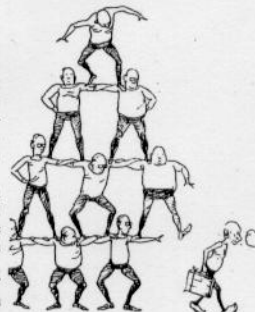
In the wake of the lay-off announcement and under the spell of a mass rally in Sudbury, Stephen Lewis in an initial flush of spirit reversed his election position and broached the issue of nationalization. This launched newspaper columnists and government officials into a massive campaign to discredit public ownership. It would not change the market situation, they charged; it would terrify investors, who buttress the Canadian economy, and would saddle the government with a losing enterprise.

All the media responses to the crisis are clearly designed to manufacture helplessness. The *Globe and Mail* editorial for example treated the crisis as a natural disaster—a hurricane or a tornado—just one of those crazy things we had no control over, and lamented the "enigma" of it all. Dianne Cohen, the *Star* economist, took pains to warn Canadians that there were in fact no "first rate solutions."

In the face of this, the NDP leadership appears to have retreated. No campaign for nationalization has emerged from the provincial caucus; federally, Ed Broadbent has limited his demand to the stockpiling of nickel.

But nothing short of full-scale nationalization under workers' control and within the context of a planned economy is going to solve the "boom and bust" pattern of Canada's single industry communities, which live perpetually with the threat of extinction hovering above them. Nationalization and the stockpiling of nickel would overcome the truly "losing proposition" of stockpiling thousands of people on unemployment insurance.

A nationalized nickel mine could begin to overcome the restraints that multinational corporations have placed on the processing and manufacturing of raw materials in Canada. As for now, with INCO controlled by interests such as Morgan and Rockefeller, not to mention Canada's own Power Corporation, Canada is in the ridiculous position of being an importer of nickel products. As the prologue to a planned economy, a publicly-owned INCO could pioneer the long-term solution to unemployment—30 hours work for 40 hours pay. INCO has served notice that its economic difficulties are to be foisted on the Canadian working people. We must service notice that if a privately-owned INCO cannot serve our needs, then a publicly-owned one will.



compassionate. And it did not choose wisely. The servile and obliging Canadian government came to the rescue immediately. They even had the black humour to suggest a cartel for this already super-monopolized industry.

As their alternative to nationalization, government officials proposed a work-sharing plan designed to put miners on a four-day week with supplemental UIC benefits. This "socialism" for the workers—where they would all get to share the poverty—was promptly rejected by the Sudbury miners. Such a plan, they charged, would be merely providing further subsidization of INCO through the UIC—more workers' money to pick up the pieces after INCO's unplanned marketing.

Ontario Premier Davis, for his

Inside this issue

The PQ left-wing...p.5

Ont. NDP debate...p.6

Labor notes...p.7

P.2

tical apparatus.

Two commissions have been appointed to investigate this massive outpouring of RCMP wrongdoings. The federal McDonald Commission has all the earmarkings of another whitewashing operation, designed to defuse the public outcry rather than expose the machinations of Canada's secret political police. In fact, delays in the start of the commissions hearings have resulted from the need for RCMP clearance of commission personnel! With predictions that this commission may take as long as five years to report back, Trudeau has found it safe enough to stake his political future on its final report.

The PQ-appointed Keable Commission, however, won't be as easy to control, responsive as it must be to the nationalist sentiment in Quebec which itself has been strengthened by the fact that Québécois were key targets of the spying activities.

Also demanding that the cloak of secrecy be removed from the plethora of RCMP criminal acts is Grace Hartman, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, who has asked Solicitor-General Francis Fox to reveal what unions are being spied on, whether the RCMP breaks laws in collecting information on trade unions, what the information is used for, and why the business community gets briefed on this information. Although Francis Fox denied such spying activities against CUPE, he has been unable to explain why

continued on page 3

Gov't staggering as cover-up gets blown

continued from page 1

Colonel Robin Bourne stated on August 10 that his department within the RCMP (the Police and Security Planning branch) compiled such information.

Trudeau's assertion that he refuses to have government second-guess the day-to-day decisions of the RCMP and his oft-repeated desire to legalize crime when it is committed by the RCMP, reveals his own complicity and responsibility in giving the green light for such activities.

The basis of RCMP policy is already clear: a coldwar, McCarthyite distrust of anyone to the left of Jack Horner; and a cynical manipulation of public opinion reared on ceremonies and myths which portray the so-called glories of the RCMP, myths which conveniently forget the role of the RCMP in crushing popular democracy and native rights as the Canadian west was settled, and its spying on the labor movement throughout the twentieth century.

The spying activities have been stepped up in recent decades in response to growing nationalist ferment in Quebec and elsewhere, and in response to growing youth and labor protest.

The RCMP has also been quite conscious of its role as janitor and agent for US foreign policy. as one-time chief spy John Starnes argued in a government publication dealing with "strategic studies," Canada's role in NATO has been subject to too

much questioning. As this spy, deeply implicated in RCMP wrongdoings, sees it: "Canada's internal political situation is such that for the first time since NATO was formed, there is now a potential threat to the security of the North American heartland in which are located the principal vital military components of the Alliance."

Canada's military commitments to NATO-NORAD, which have subjected Canadian foreign policy and military apparatus to the control of US military and political officials, require, it seems, that Canada's whole population be regarded as a threat and be subject to scrutiny. The PQ and NDP, which oppose continued membership in the alliance, have become the prime suspects.

The unions and political organizations of Canadian working people and their allies are democratic organizations. Their legality was won in the course of decades of struggle for the extension of democracy. These democratic victories, the real "national security" of Canadian working people, have been subject to constant sabotage and conspiratorial interference by the government, the RCMP and their agents. At long last, as the realities of these anti-democratic policies come to the surface, defenders of civil liberties have the opportunity to clear the stables of this secret government.

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Any article from FORWARD may be reprinted without fee as long as FORWARD is acknowledged. Mail should be addressed to: Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Closures result of branch plant setup

By Vic Hanson

The 3,000 layoffs by INCO in Sudbury and Thompson are only the tip of the iceberg. Plant closures and massive layoffs by mainly foreign-owned and controlled companies in Canada have increased dramatically during the past year.

According to federal and provincial manpower statistics, there were 189 large-scale layoffs and plant closures affecting over 16,000 workers between April 1967 and March 1977. From April to September of this year alone, there were 85 major (25 workers or more) layoffs affecting 8,894 workers. Layoffs involving 25 or less workers would substantially increase these figures.

The bulk of the layoffs and closures have occurred in the major industrial sectors from mining to electrical products to auto parts. All of these sectors are controlled by large "multinational corporations," mainly U.S.-owned. This predominance of U.S.-owned "multinational" corporations is the prime reason behind the increasing layoffs and plant closures in Canada.

Indicative of the problems that foreign ownership creates is the situation at Anaconda Canada Ltd. in Etobicoke, Ontario. At this brass and copper mill owned by Atlantic Richfield of Los Angeles, 875 workers will lose their jobs because the U.S. parent company will not allow its Canadian subsidiary to compete in U.S. and foreign markets for copper and brass parts.

At present, Anaconda Canada, with annual sales totalling between \$70-\$100 million, is a major supplier of copper and brass parts to the Canadian automotive industry. Anacon-

da also has a mill in Buffalo, N.Y.

In another chapter in the story of the continuing loss of Canadian jobs through the U.S.-Canada Auto Pact, production of copper and brass parts by Anaconda Canada for the Canadian auto industry (almost 100% U.S. owned and controlled) could easily be transferred to Buffalo. This comes after the fact that Anaconda Canada has made millions of dollars in profits from Canadian workers.

The company has been offered for sale to Canadian buyers, but, little wonder, none have been found.

The shutdown of color TV production at Quasar Electronics Canada in Toronto is another example of the destructive effects foreign ownership has on the Canadian economy. Quasar is owned by Matsushita Electrical Industrial Co. of Japan.

In September, Matsushita decided to transfer color TV production from Toronto to a newly renovated plant in Franklin Park, Illinois. The \$15 million spent on these renovations was a portion of the profits Matsushita made in Canada.

Thousands of jobs in the Canadian electronics industry have been lost because the federal government has allowed the industry to become dominated by foreign companies mainly from the U.S., Japan and Korea.

Electrohome Ltd., a Canadian owned company, has lost \$12 million between 1974 and 1977 and has stopped making color TV's in Canada. As a result, the company has reduced its workforce from 3400 in 1972 to 2400 in April 1977.

While jobs and production flow out of Canada, the federal government and the Canadian business elite continue to encourage greater and



This company has reduced its workforce from 3400 in 1972 to 2400 in 1977

greater levels of foreign ownership. The selling out of the Canadian economy has been aided and abetted by successive Liberal and Conservative governments and their business allies.

The layoffs and plant closures can be halted. But only by nationalizing any company that threatens to lay off or close down and shift production to another country. Combined with a complete nationalization of the natural resource industries and the instituting of a fully planned economy, this policy would begin the much needed transformation of the Canadian economy — a transition that would put social and human needs before private profit and begin to use our resources to build a strong and full (both primary and secondary) industrial base in Canada.

...the Chief likes your story, Pegmire
was there any truth in it?

FORWARD'S MONTHLY
MESSAGE IS 100% TRUTH!

Subscribe

Name _____

Address _____

\$1—6 issues \$2—one year



FORWARD
Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O.
Toronto, Ont.

forward

A WORKING CLASS
ANSWER TO THE
TASK FORCE ON
CANADIAN UNITY

Quebec & the
Canada Crisis

for a
Constituent Assembly
and a new
Canadian Constitution

by Russ Dawson

25 cents

25¢ A COPY

Get your copy now and help us
circulate this vital pamphlet.

5 Copies, postpaid for
\$1 in stamps

Order from

FORWARD PUBLICATIONS
53 Gerrard St. West
Toronto M5G 1J2

Protests mounting against

Nuclear energy peril

By Ian Kellogg

The growing anti-nuclear movements here in Canada and around the world have focused much of their attack on the inability of present technology to deal with the deadly wastes produced in nuclear energy plants.

In Canada the reality of this peril has now become real with the possibility that Ontario's showpiece Pickering nuclear plant may be shut down in the next few months because of its inability to dispose of its

According to the **Toronto Star**, such a shutdown would cut electri-

cal power to an estimated 1,700,000 homes. It would be a disaster confirming how stupid and ruthless the nuclear "experts" and their corporate backers have been in rushing ahead with massive nuclear projects.

The immediate problem is 1,500 tons of indestructible, cancer-causing, mutating, and highly radioactive waste temporarily stored at the Pickering site. This is over 90% of the total storage capacity there.

Although another temporary storage bay is being rushed to completion, if a major accident occurs at Pickering in the next few months requiring emergency cooling, the waste bays would be filled up. "We couldn't use the reactors," says William Morrison of Ontario Hydro.

But even if the new storage bays are completed in time, the long-term problems remain. Nuclear waste, a by-product of all the world's fission plants, cannot be kept for long periods in water bays like the ones at Pickering.

According to the **Star**, the waste "may become too fragile to be easily moved to a permanent storage site." It must be presumed that Pickering would become a volatile no-man's land, and the population rather than the deadly immobilized waste would be moved!

So why isn't the waste being "permanently" put to rest and out of danger? Because no one anywhere in the world knows if this can be done.

For this reason Britain's nuclear program has been given a "go-slow" directive after warnings from environmentalists and scientists. The Swedish government may close its latest plant after the failure of a sophisticated French waste program to perform.

White House environmental official J.G. Speth has urged Carter to declare a moratorium on new fission reactors until it can be shown that "nuclear power's deadly by-products can be safely contained for geological periods."

And hundreds of thousands are organizing and taking to the streets around the world to protest nuclear lunacy.

But qualms about nuclear waste are not bothering the Canadian governments. Ontario Hydro is going blindly ahead with the 4 to 5 billion dollar Darlington reactor near Oshawa, and has scrapped public environmental assessment hearings in its haste.

The Ontario NDP has a 1976 resolution calling for a fission moratorium, but the leadership has let the issue ride and not sought to link its efforts with the environmental movement.

Darlington, Pickering and worldwide protests are making the dangers of fission ever clearer. It is time that NDPers clamoured for their leaders to take the moratorium resolution off the books and into the fray.

Uranium go-ahead in Sask.

In Saskatchewan, unionists are being pressured by Canada's economic crisis into ignoring the dangers of the nuclear industry.

By an narrow margin, 120 Saskatchewan Federation of Labour delegates voted in October against pushing for a moratorium on the development of large northern uranium deposits in their province, despite the known hazards of mining uranium and a vigorous environmental campaign pointing out all the dangerous uncertainties about uranium development.

The Steelworkers union and the building trades unions favor development because of the jobs that will be created. The NDP government of Saskatchewan favors the development because of the royalties it will receive, and the profits that a Crown corporation will make, alongside a West German and a U.S. firm. The union and NDP leaderships are prepared to betray their movements' principles on work safety for the sake of jobs that imperil workers' lives.

In contrast is the working class of Australia. Following the lifting of a uranium mining moratorium there in August, the unions, the opposition Labour Party, and tens of thousands of demonstrators have effectively protested this move.

The protests have politicised workers so that most support fighting for a prosperous, egalitarian Australia without uranium and all its dangers.

However, as long as the economy deteriorates in Australia, Canada and elsewhere, the argument that a clean environment and public safety mean fewer jobs will have an effect.

Militants in the unions, the NDP, and the environmental movement must work to counter this business logic.

Such a campaign can point to a prosperous society planned for and by the workers, not by corporate profits, where such actions as uranium moratoriums can be carried through without the blackmail of lost investment and lost jobs.

PQ government moves to control asbestos industry

By Gord Donnelly

While the Tory government in Ontario and the Liberals in Ottawa make apologies for their corporate friends, whose fiats lay off nickel miners in Sudbury and Thompson and close fluorspar mining in Newfoundland, the PQ government has announced its intention to take over the infamous Asbestos Corporation of Montreal.

Alfred Powis, president of the Noranda Mines Group and a staunch federalist, berates the PQ's move as coming at the "worst possible time," causing "further harm to Quebec's image elsewhere." As president of the major iron front organization of U.S. steel interests in Canada, Powis' brand of national unity can only be taken as hypocrisy. His fears of Quebec's image can only reveal his subservience to the U.S. resource industry.

Given the arrogance of the U.S.

asbestos interests and their refusal to process asbestos products in Quebec or to obey the most minimal safety standards, the PQ government was left with little alternative. The nationalist dynamic of the PQ's political base has led to a program which commits the government to ensure at least 51% control in the hands of Québécois of the manufacturing industry, wherever it is feasible to bring about this control.

The PQ government is forming a National Asbestos Corporation with an initial capital of \$50 million. The government has declared its intent to increase processing of asbestos fiber in Quebec to 20% and to abolish unhealthy mining conditions. Currently, while Quebec supplies one-half of the capitalist world's asbestos, 97% of it is processed in the U.S., Ontario, and Europe.

As a first step, Premier Lévesque

has announced the government's intent to buy out General Dynamics of St. Louis Mo., 55% shareholder of Asbestos Corporation, in order to acquire majority or 100% ownership. Of the five asbestos producers in Quebec, Asbestos Corporation is the only one not structured into a branch plant operation, making it more attractive for government takeover. Lévesque has insinuated to General Dynamics that he would be willing to expropriate Asbestos Corporation if they could not come to terms with the government's policy. He has also served notice on the rest of the producers that their job-creating priorities would be subject to critical government scrutiny.

By acquiring Asbestos Corporation, the government would be owner of the third largest producer of asbestos, whose assets are estimated by the industry to be in the order of \$155 million. Asbestos dou-

bled its profits last year—\$20.4 million in after-tax profit. It owns two open-pit mines in the Eastern Townships of Quebec and operates a mine in the Ungava district of northern Quebec. Asbestos claimed total ore revenues at the end of 1976 of 144 million tons plus 120 million in probable reserves and another 90 million in possible reserves.

The only challenge on this scale to the power of U.S. resource giants is in Saskatchewan, where the NDP continues to move toward more complete public ownership of valuable potash mines. How ironic that the NDP is lining up with federalists like Noranda's Powis in the campaign against Quebec independence, even as the asbestos nationalization gives a portent of its socialist dynamic.

Dailies struck over workers' control

Three of the biggest Quebec daily newspapers have been struck. The biggest, Montreal's **La Presse**, since October 6; Quebec City's **Le Soleil**, since August 30; along with **Montreal-Matin**. The silence of the cross-Canada media on this important struggle is overwhelming. The issue is workers' control.

Reporters and copy editors at **Le Soleil** struck over demands involving greater control over their work. They demand that there be no changes in

reporters' articles without permission. They want to determine the number of free lancers and part time employees. Daniel Marsolais, president of the **La Presse** journalists' union, says: "The fundamental issue in the conflict is ultimately a demand in our contract proposal that management appointees must be accepted by the union members who will be working under their orders."

The strike at **La Presse** broke out when reporters in the sports depart-

ment refused to recognize a management appointed sports editor and designated a sports editor from among themselves. The latter along with several reporters was suspended and in solidarity the papers' staff of 208 walked out.

Montréal-Matin, which in 1973 became part of the Power Corporation empire of Paul Desmarais which also includes **La Presse**, has been steadily absorbed by **La Presse**. Its staff was in effect locked out when **La Presse**

was shut down.

The struggle by Quebec journalists for greater control over editorial policy has been an integral part of the developing nationalist struggle there. In 1975 reporters at **Le Devoir** established majority unionized employees' control over a committee which meets once a week to review past and future coverage of events. The committee's decision-making powers are subject to the publisher's veto but it has not so far been exercised.

Gays dispute over Damien Defence

By Randy Nottle

Since February of 1975, when racing official John Damien lost his job for being an admitted homosexual, a strong and well-motivated campaign has been mounted in his defense.

The principles of that defense have always been the demands for Damien's reinstatement and the inclusion of the words "sexual orientation" in the Ontario Human Rights Code. This last demand is to ensure that what happened to Damien does not happen to any other gay or lesbian.

In recent months, however, two leading components of the Committee to Defend John Damien have questioned these principles and have attempted to undercut them. Both the Toronto Gay Alliance toward Equality (GATE) and the widely-circulated gay journal **The Body Politic** have instigated a campaign to discredit the Committee's line of defense and to slander its past chairman, Terry Phillips. Ironically, up until a year and a half ago, GATE had been fully behind this defense and its principles.

This attack was first made public when GATE published an open letter attacking Phillips. GATE also inferred that it alone could "demonstrate to the authorities our anger at the firing of John Damien," as the letter said. To this end, GATE took charge of the October 21 National Day of Protest for John Damien in Toronto. The action was so inundated with other, unrelated gay demands that

not only was the Damien issue buried, but a mere 70 people showed up for it. Pretty poor showing for a town that has mobilised 700 for gay rights on other occasions.

And GATE's line was further amplified by two articles that appeared in the September issue of **The Body Politic**. One of these articles was an editorial stating without the slightest evidence that Phillips had run the committee undemocratically and that he had defused the campaign with "obscure" human rights and human dignity slogans. The editorial never said how, or when, or in what sense the Committee had been run undemocratically. Nor did it say how putting forth human rights demands in a defense action "obscures" it. Presumably both **The Body Politic** and its sister organization GATE feel that to do so removes gay rights from the context of the Damien case. But if the rights of gay people are not human rights, what are they? Neither organisation cares to answer that question. Equally, neither organisation feels compelled to justify their long-time demand for "full human and civil rights for gay people."

More scurrilous than the editorial was a long front-page article in the same issue. The article, written by Michael Lynch, was replete with innuendo and half-articulated slander and comes as a distinct and vindictive after-thought to the Committee's last policy conference in which he, **The Body Politic** and GATE were

defeated on every major proposal they put forth. Besides attacking Phillips personally, Lynch wrote that the newly formed John Damien Foundation was not to be trusted. The Foundation, in large part motivated by John Damien himself, was set up as a tax shelter for those giving donations to Damien's cause. Lynch's assertion is that the Foundation cannot be trusted as it is out of the control of the "gay movement." By "gay movement" Lynch refers of course to himself, **The Body Politic** and GATE. Now both groups, with the connivance of Lynch, have taken over the Committee in an attempt to mislead its followers.

Forward asked Terry Phillips why these groups were attacking the case in such a hysterical way. Phillips told us that both were merely seeking excuses for not "building defense for Damien across the country." Phillips predicted, "These recent vicious attacks on Damien and his case are the prelude to GATE and **The Body Politic**'s abandonment of the Damien defense."

What is occurring in the Toronto gay movement, however, is certainly not reflected elsewhere. Damien has just completed a highly successful tour which took him to Vancouver, Edmonton, Ottawa and Halifax. And Damien also held a meeting recently with the Liberal caucus at Queen's Park and is now gaining more support from the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Forward coverage attacked

Socialist politics and gay liberation — an exchange of views

Toronto

I was shocked and disgusted to see that Ross Dowson's only concrete criticism of the LSA candidate in the recent election was the fact that she is "demonstratively pregnant, single-parent" and a lesbian.

The flaunting of such prejudice in a "socialist" newspaper defies comment, being beneath contempt, but one thing can be said: it certainly makes Dowson's words about "principle" and "whole-sale capitulation" ring hollow.

If the LSA tried to rise above the swamp of bourgeois morality it is to be applauded; Dowson's bilge, on the other hand, makes the water fester.

Hide your Jews, your East-Indians, your physically handicapped, hide all your pariahs, forget the words of the **Internationale**-- but hide also your newspaper from the eyes of this reader, himself a pariah and perversely proud of it. Cancel my subscription.

Walter Bruno

Ross Dowson replies:

Walter Bruno's letter, though ostensibly addressed to the readers of **Forward**, first appeared in the October issue of **Socialist Voice**. This

somewhat hysterical, completely misguided and highly personal attack on myself was utilized by the editors of that paper, expressing the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, and allocating equal space for their own comments, to serve as a reply of sorts to my article in the September issue of **Forward** on the fusion of the LSA-RMG-GMR into the Revolutionary Workers League. A distinctly minor aspect of my article and Bruno's response has thus been used by the RWL to cover up and smear over the main thoughts of my article.

About the only truths in these attacks is: (1) Bruno's comment that my article made only one concrete criticism, not at all we must insist against the candidate, but against the politics of the LSA campaign in the Ontario election, and (2) the **Socialist Voice** editors' comments that I did not even mention the name of the candidate. The simple fact is that my article did not, and could not, have as its purpose what Bruno criticizes it for neglecting, and it was not at all personal, but political.

Bruno, in an affront to the great name he bears, knows full well that the Canadian Trotskyist movement

during the some three decades, when it was a united movement and when I played not an inconsequential role never barred gays from participating in its ranks to further the cause of the class struggle and socialism (as did almost every other socialist formation both here and abroad), but always saw this matter, as does the Socialist League today, from a political point of view, as a question of civil rights. Our aim then, and now, is to advance a program that furthers the development of class consciousness and mobilizes the workers as a class in anti-capitalist struggle—and not at all to raise questions of lifestyle which are so highly divisive and, incidentally, not at all along class lines.

Instead of having the candidate lend her name to enable it to advance its political program, the LSA used Faubert's sexuality to project a radical, but completely pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-socialist lifestyle, which in our opinion, I repeat, "depolticized the LSA's effort, freaking out NDPers and others moving to political class consciousness."

In previous issues, while carrying on the Trotskyist tradition in this country, **Forward** has limited its comments in defense of this heritage

P.2

to opposing the RMG-LSA's sometimes sectarian and sometimes ultra-left deviations. These are problems that have plagued the socialist movement for decades. But with the LSA Ontario campaign, and now the RWL Winnipeg campaign, these self-proclaimed Trotskyists are dragging that tradition down into the mire.

However we are not forced to argue out this question only on the Brampton experience. The LSA-RMG appear to have now raised to a principle that they must at all times counterpose their small forces to the massive and deeply-rooted strength of the New Democratic Party. Thus we have an even more explicit example of this petit-bourgeois, non-class revolutionary posturing in the campaign that, united as the Revolutionary Workers League, they waged in the more recent Manitoba elections in the Osborne-Winnipeg riding.

A four page tabloid newspaper-size leaflet was their central piece of campaign literature. We limit our observations to one section of the program that takes up more than one eighth of this large leaflet. This section is headlined in strong type with the words: "We need an alternative strategy to propel women out of their domestic prisons and break asunder

the chains of sexual misery and oppression that fetter them, especially lesbians and their gay brothers. ..."

This section is given heightened prominence in the tabloid by a strong graphic depicting, in bold lines, two women embracing one another ecstatically, with a caption that reads: "We shall enjoy it—as for him who finds fault, may silliness and sorrow take him." The quotations is attributed to the poet Sappho of Lesbos.

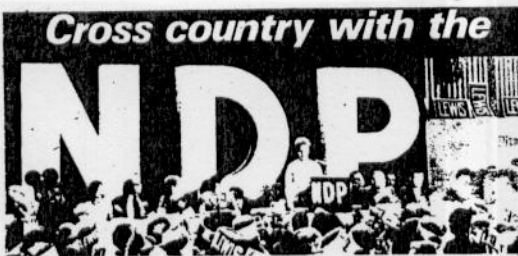
A part of this section presents as the RWL's program its version of the program of another movement, the Gay Liberation Movement, which, it pontificates, speaks not only for the estimated 15% of the population thought to be gay, but "for all those who want greater freedom and fulfillment in love relations." One of seven specific measures that the RWL program calls for in this area (one by no means supported by any substantial force in the gay movement, and correctly so if only for the fact that it plays right into the hands of anti-gay bigots, and can only undermine the struggle for gay civil rights) is: "End all restrictions on non-coercive sexual expression, including anti-homosexual and age of consent laws."

Over the past several years the press of these two groups have bro-

ken new ground for what they pass off as Trotskyism. In one issue they would take a position, only in a subsequent issue to make a 180 degree reversal—leaving those who might have followed their advice completely discredited in their fellow workers' eyes, and never explaining for educational, let alone elementary sanitary purposes, the possible reasons for the volte face.

Astonishingly, the readers of **Socialist Voice** have not only been deprived of the slightest clue of the part of the Osborne election campaign I have mentioned, but have been, for completely unexplained reasons, totally and consciously misinformed by the two major articles covering the campaign. George McMaster's article in the September 26 issue reporting on "the major themes of the RWL program" contains not one word on this contentious section. In his post election analysis in the October 24 issue, Barry Weisleder limits his comments on this aspect of the campaign to the incredible words that it "defended the rights of women and gays."

We can only speculate what lies behind this completely fraudulent presentation of the Winnipeg campaign by the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers League.



How Sask. took over potash

By Wayne Roberts

As the Saskatchewan NDP government extends its efforts to bring 50% of the potash industry under government ownership, two important left critics have attempted to write an overview of the NDP experience and limitations in this area.

In the November issue of *Canadian Forum*, John Richards, former NDP member of the Saskatchewan legislature and a leading figure in the Waffle, presents the inconsistent and unprincipled record of CCF-NDP governments in dealing with this crucial resource industry.

Despite a 1944 election platform which committed the CCF to social ownership of natural resources, CCF governments buckled to the powers of U.S.-backed potash giants, Richards charges. Seeing no possibility of breaking monopoly control of world markets, and fearing for the safety of priority measures of health care, the CCF government invited in private capitalists in 1948 and offered terms that would make "banana republics" blush. The royalty and pro-rationing (supply-limiting agreements worked out to benefit less efficient U.S. producers) principles which they accepted provided the precedents for the court battles now being waged against the present NDP government.

Richards explains these and other defaults in terms of the "Fabian" input into CCF governments, the bureaucratic technocrats in the civil service who trusted in their own expertise rather than a political movement of the masses.

Following its re-election in the 1970's, the NDP government was initially committed to doing the dirty work of the potash giants, helping them maintain their high price levels through pro-rationing, Richards continues. The government was forced into nationalization only by the extreme belligerence of the companies and the federal government, which denied Saskatchewan the minimal rights of royalty revenue. Nationalization was thus an emergency practical measure, not one taken out of principled and planned considerations, Richards laments.

Next Year Country, the magazine of the Saskatchewan Waffle, has also studied the problem in its July issue. NYC concedes that: "The

takeover does break new ground. It's the first time in North America that a government has taken possession of an economically prosperous industry, and the step was taken in spite of the opposition of the big corporations and the U.S. government..."

However, the brunt of their article is designed to expose the nature of the NDP government and "state", under the control of "small capital owners," which act in a traditional capitalist manner toward the workforce and poor-farmer consumers. The NDP has acted this way, NYC claims, since it represents the small business, bureaucratic and technocratic elements who "have a vested interest in keeping their form of capitalism healthy." Presumably then, Saskatchewan workers need to organize a labor party which can be subjected to their class will.

While the NDP leadership has deserved criticism on many of the counts raised by these articles, these evaluations are on the wrong track. Ironically, their explanations deny the crucial role played by themselves and the left in popularizing nationalization of U.S. resource firms throughout the 1960's and 1970's. Given the CCF-NDP's previous record of capitulation, they might have waived again before the might of the potash lords, if the left had not already alerted the public and pointed the way toward nationalization.

The Waffle critics also underestimate the complexities of the NDP leadership's entrenched reformism, which underlies their record of vacillation and occasionally outright betrayals. This reformism is not mechanically rooted in class forces directly antagonistic to the working class movement. While the NDP leadership certainly suffers from the pretensions of bureaucrats and the professional middle class, these social elements are not independent or dynamic social classes capable of exercising power on their own.

Furthermore, the NDP in Saskatchewan, as in the rest of the country, is structurally and electorally linked to the working class movement and mirrors both the bureaucratic outlook of its leadership, its vacillations and maneuvers, and the political inexperience of its membership.

Prepare for Ont. convention

By Harry Painé

The contest for Ontario NDP leader is no contest at all, to this point in the race. Each of the three declared candidates is trying to appeal to different layers in the party, but so far they appear to be programatically indistinguishable.

Considering the debate that is taking place on what direction the party should be going after this year's setback at the polls, it is hard to understand why someone has not come forward with a clear statement of alternatives.

It must be more and more obvious that the chaos in the economy, growing lay-offs, attacks on the living standards of working people everywhere, pose very clearly the need for socialist answers. It is almost a scandal, given this situation, that not one candidate for leader has called for a program that is clearly socialist.

Nevertheless, there are a number of things happening around the rid-

ings that offer some hope.

The downtown Toronto Dovercourt riding executive is circulating a resolution that essentially defends the authority of the membership conventions to determine the policy of the party to be presented during elections. This resolution has been endorsed by a number of other ridings including St. David and Grey-Bruce, Oriole and Wilson Heights.

Toronto's St. David riding executive has further suggested that a meeting be called before the convention to discuss the defense of this resolution and the possibility of running people for the Provincial Executive.

A task force, that is centered in St. Andrew-St. Patrick and includes people from some other ridings, has drawn up some good resolutions which they are circulating for endorsement. One of these calls for the social ownership of production as a general goal which the NDP should work toward.

FORWARD, Nov.-Dec. 1977

→ P2

P. 2

President and MPP debate Lewis-Caplan election line

The debate is on. Gerry Caplan's post-election analysis of the NDP's electoral problems (see article on page 7) has provoked some sign of vitality and fight within the NDP left. The November issue of the Ontario **New Democrat** contains articles by party president Jim Turk and Toronto MPP Oduardo DiSanto, which criticize the strategy outlined by Caplan.

The crass, vote-chasing opportunism of the NDP leadership has not paid off. "We began with high hopes but ended in third place," says Turk. The NDP has only increased its popular vote by 2% in ten years, DiSanto reminds us.

Turk argues with Caplan's two major propositions: that the NDP must change its policy-making procedures, and that the NDP must prove its ability to "run the store." For Turk, Caplan's proposal of a "cool", "responsible", i.e., right-wing and consultative or rubber stamp convention, "undermines the very things that make me want to be a member of the NDP." Secondly, Turk does "not believe our job is to convince Ontario we can run the 'store.' Rather our job is to raise questions about what kind of 'store' we want. The present 'store' may be fine for its owners, but it certainly does not operate in the interests of employees and customers."

Turk believes that the NDP must

spend more time educating the public in between elections as the way to win people to the NDP's perspective.

DiSanto offers a more detailed examination of the changes in the party since 1971, when Lewis switched his image "from the aggressive leader, left-wing and radical, to a relaxed pater familias." In his opinion, "in the last seven years the NDP has not only changed its image, but has been subjected to a deep, persistent process of adaptation to external factors that has weakened its effectiveness as an instrument for social change," arguing for a stronger emphasis of the NDP's links with the labor movement and a consolidation of working class support "as a prerequisite to political action," DiSanto attacks the inconsistent chasing of various middle class voting blocs and the neglect of ethnic working class problems.

While both articles provide valuable comments on the general questions raised by Caplan, their critiques lack a worked-out programmatic perspective. Turk refers to this indirectly through his use of the "store" analogy (he wants a "different kind of store.") He also upholds the party platform on the minimum wage and public ownership of resources.

DiSanto is both more searching and more contradictory. He criticizes the party's approach to such ques-

tions as environment, safety and jobs for never facing "the root of the problem—we never question the system." He sees a "basic inability of the present government to understand and to solve our economic problems. Piecemeal criticism is not enough. Alternative solutions are required."

Yet, he continues: "By 'alternative,' I do not mean solutions irreconcilable with the present economic order. I mean instead that within the framework of a pluralistic society we must develop a healthy economy..." This brings us back to the piecemeal reforms and blocs of the present leadership.

At any rate, the debate is underway. As NDPers begin to reconsider their political views in terms not only of the electoral bankruptcy of the present leadership, but also more fundamentally, in terms of its programmatic bankruptcy, we can begin to advance programmatic alternatives.

The current chaos of capitalism in decline offers the issues — INCO, RCMP, Quebec, nuclear power. The left can project a course of raising anti-capitalist demands capable of rallying the working class in struggle, struggles which can lay the basis for the development of the NDP as a movement rather than a mere electoralist party, and move towards the winning of power.

Caplan promotes ONDP

Further drift to right

By Dale Ritch

Gerry Caplan's parting shot on the 1977 Ontario election, "Election Notes: A View from the Center," which appeared in the August **New Democrat**, is important not only as a rationalization of the lackluster campaign which Caplan organized and bears prime responsibility for. The leading strategist for the NDP leadership also puts forward projections to solve some of the NDP's weaknesses.

According to Caplan, the electoral defeat had two sets of causes, one external to the party, the other internal. In the absence of a well-funded, high-powered media campaign for the NDP, Caplan contends, the hostile, red-baiting campaign of the Tories and indifferent and unsympathetic media coverage had a damaging effect.

The party was also saddled, Caplan complains, with the unexpected resurrection of carefully forgotten party policies such as the \$4 minimum wage and the nationalization of resource industries which embarrassed the leader, and caused the campaign serious damage.

These problems led directly to the single biggest failure of the campaign—its inability to provide an affirmative answer to that all-important question tormenting Ontario voters, to wit, that "lurking fear among potential voters that we've never met a payroll, that we simply don't know how to run the store."

Since the funding and media problems raised by Caplan are chronic for a party dedicated to the cause of the working class, one must conclude that Caplan is merely providing excuses for the weak campaign. In fact, the party was in better financial shape than it has ever been in its history, the Liberals had much worse press coverage than the NDP early on in the campaign, and the Tory red-baiting campaign alienated as many voters from the Tories as from the NDP.

Caplan's real point is that the campaign was sabotaged by certain skeletons hiding in the closet, particularly the fossils dealing with nationalization of resource industries and the \$4 minimum wage, socialist policies which were viewed by Caplan as millstones around the party's neck rather than building blocks for a socialist alternative.

Contrary to Caplan, the real weak-

ness of the campaign was its direction right from the start. Caplan's election strategy was based on the erroneous assumption that the Tories were guaranteed a majority, with the NDP coming in as the "loyal opposition" again to really "make minority government work."

Instead of pursuing the clear and popular working class issues which made the 1975 election campaign a success, issues dismissed contemptuously by Caplan as simple-minded, the campaign pushed moderation and responsibility, making the NDP



Gerald Caplan, mastermind of ONDP election set-back.

almost indistinguishable from the other parties.

The strong finish of the inept, underfinanced, disorganized and almost leaderless Liberals (the Liberals' glaring weaknesses at the beginning of the campaign are not even mentioned by Caplan) demonstrated the strong anti-government protest vote, much of which could have been won to the NDP with a campaign that projected some refreshing, intelligible solutions to the economic crisis engulfing Ontario. The NDP campaign projected no such alternative. Caplan's own words on this account are damning: "I daresay that a majority of Ontarians to this day cannot distinguish among the job-creation programs of the three parties."

The lack of an alternative employment program reflected the underlying views of the NDP leadership, who do not see unemployment as an integral, insoluble problem of the capitalist system, but as merely a temporary aberration that can be conjured away by some minor job-creation programs.

The thousands of NDP activists, who worked their hearts out to win

the election and not to come second, deserve much better from their leadership. Unfortunately, Caplan has not reconsidered or repudiated any of the ideas behind Campaign '77. To the contrary, Caplan wants to continue the right-wing drift pushed in the past by the party leadership.

The strategy must be to present the NDP leadership as good potential managers of the system as it functions now, with only minor cosmetic changes. To facilitate this approach, he insists, some changes will have to occur in the party.

"We'd better no longer pass policies at our convention that we won't be comfortable defending," he warns. Furthermore: "We'd better no longer have the caucus or its individual members take stands that the entire party can't later comfortably defend." Since Caplan isn't the least bit upset at Lewis' blatant reversal of the party program on nationalization during the leaders' debate, what he really means is that the party and the conventions must be made into rubber stamps for the party leader and the caucus.

Party democracy is another element that must be dispensed with if the NDP is to allay voters' fear that it can't "run the store." Caplan cautions, "It's easy to reinforce that fear: an angry caucus, an emotional convention, a tough leadership debate which becomes a test of 'socialist purity.'" So, out must go anger, emotion, debate. The heart and soul of the party must be sacrificed for Caplan's purposes of convincing the electorate that the NDP can run the capitalist system as well as the Liberals or Tories.

The ironic twist to Caplan's politics is that even by selling out many of its militant traditions, always of course in the name of socialism, the NDP doesn't stand a chance of being elected as long as a credible big business alternative party exists. The path to power for an NDP-Labor government in Ontario lies on a diametrically opposed course, one based on winning the labor vote, not on chasing after the disillusioned Liberal vote.

The NDP must develop and promote a comprehensive program of anti-capitalist alternatives to the severe economic and social problems peculiar to a dependent capitalist economy suffering a severe crisis.



Jim Turk, ONDP president, has challenged Caplan's interpretation

Nationalization of the resource sector so that its profits can be used to create secondary manufacturing remains a must in such a program. This program must be worked out in the context of serious, comprehensive and open party discussions, which lead to decisions honored by the party leadership.

Although Caplan is exiling himself to Nigeria for two years, his ideas and policies still dominate the party. Socialists in the party must combat these ideas in their unions, their constituencies, and must prepare now to reverse the right wing trend in the party at the next convention.

GM Dec 13/77

RCMP sued over report on socialists

By LAWRENCE MARTIN

Ross Dowson, the former executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, has launched a suit against the RCMP alleging the Mounties slandered him and co-thinkers by implying they were subversives in a report tabled in the Ontario Legislature last Friday.

Harry Kopyto, counsel for Mr. Dowson, said his client specifically objects to the idea that the LSA ever promoted change brought on by violence or undemocratic means. He said yesterday he is serving notice of the suit this morning and that it will be fought in the Federal Court of Canada.

Friday's report was tabled by Attorney-General Roy McMurtry in answer to allegations that certain radical members of the Ontario New Democratic Party were investigated by the RCMP in the early 1970s.

The report acknowledged the allegations and said that "subversive elements penetrated the NDP through the Waffle in order to gain more respectability, credibility and influence."

The report said that when the Waffle came into being it invited persons outside the NDP to join its ranks. "These persons included ex-members of the Communist Party of Canada and members of Canadian Trotskyists movements. The leaders for the League for Socialist Action (Trotskyists), in fact directed their members to join the Waffle group."

Mr. Dowson, 60, a Toronto mayoralty candidate several times, was a leading member of the LSA from its inception in 1962 to its dissolution in 1974. The group was an amalgamation of various Trotskyist elements in Canada. Mr. Dowson defined Trotskyists in the Canadian context as "consistent, convinced socialists" who had "nothing to do with subversion."

Mr. Dowson said the LSA had a Canada-wide membership of 200 to 300. Its members were NDPers from the start and did not make entry to the party through the Waffle as the report suggests, he said.

Mr. Kopyto said that Mr. Dowson wants to try to clear his own name and by doing so "this will have the effect of clearing his co-thinkers."

Mr. Dowson said he also will pursue the matter through the McDonald Commission, the federal inquiry into alleged wrongdoing by the RCMP.

NDP Leader Stephen Lewis said yesterday he will leave further pursuit of the issue of the Waffle investigation to federal party leader Edward Broadbent.

The report on Friday left many unanswered questions, such as, did the investigation extend beyond just Waffle members in the party; was information on frictions within the party collected during the investigation passed on to the federal Government; was the federal Government or the Ontario Government made aware of the investigation prior to it; and what investigative methods were employed?

A spokesman for Mr. McMurtry said yesterday the Attorney-General would pursue unanswered questions, but only at the request of the provincial party. He said Mr. McMurtry's primary concern would be whether laws were broken during the investigation. The report indicated they were not, he said.

(Annotations by R. POWSON)

Over 60 groups Communist-

By LAWRENCE MARTIN

More than 60 "Communist-controlled organizations" were operating in Canada in the early 1970s, including one at Ottawa high schools and and 10 at Canadian universities, secret Employment and Immigration Department policy documents say.

The documents, drawn up with the advice of the RCMP, issue special instructions to immigration officials about dealing with people having any connection with them.

The list includes such groups as the Finnish Organization of Canada, the Canadian Peace Congress, the Congress of Canadian Women, the Canada-Latin America Committee, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union and the Ottawa High School Student Move-

ment.

The Communist-controlled university groups listed in the documents are the Dalhousie Student Movement, Guelph Student Movement, McGill Student Movement, McMaster Student Movement, Sherbrooke Student Movement, Sir George Student Movement, Toronto Student Movement, University of Montreal Student Movement, Vancouver Student Movement and Waterloo Student Movement. Also listed are the Quebec Student Movement and the Canadian Student Movement.

The documents are part of the immigration manual and a special section deals with applicants for non-immigrant visas or sponsors of applicants who may have associations with the movements or organizations.

The manual says that if any

of the Communist-controlled groups are interested in the applicant's visit a special report must be drawn up.

Toronto civil rights lawyer Clayton Ruby, who received the documents anonymously last week, said yesterday the labelling of such groups as Communist-controlled contravenes Canadian law.

"The law of Canada does not permit or authorize government bureaucrats to create second-class immigration status based on somebody's ill-informed anonymous opinion of what is a Communist-dominated group or organization.

"Therefore, anybody visiting or associating with any of these groups is cheated out of a fair hearing as guaranteed by law because the instructions are to never tell anyone the real reason for refusal of

admittance. The groups never get a chance to complain because it is all secret."

Rene Pappone, an Immigration Department spokesman, would not divulge the criteria for labelling the groups Communist-controlled or any other details about the matter.

"I can only say that Immigration cannot comment on questions related to security. I've checked at the highest level and received legal advice, as I am sure you will."

The sections of the manual cover from 1970 to late 1976. The parts dealing with the Communist-controlled organizations appear to refer to 1972. Some of the organizations listed are defunct or no longer active.

The manual refers repeatedly to RCMP members who act as visa control officers

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, MONDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1977 5

controlled in '70s, secret files say

and file reports to immigration officials on security matters. The manual also lists the groups' publications.

A central question in the controversy over illegal activities and alleged illegal activities committed by the RCMP in the same period involves the ability of the force to distinguish between subversive activity and legitimate political dissent.

Some opposition members of Parliament and media critics have argued that there was a gross overreaction to the 1970 October Crisis in which a British diplomat and a Quebec Cabinet minister were kidnapped by the Front de Liberation du Quebec, a terrorist group.

They argue that following the crisis a clampdown occurred in which innocent par-

ties were being labelled Communist or subversive and left to suffer the consequences.

The RCMP recently confirmed that it investigated members of the Waffle faction of the New Democratic Party in the early 1970s because it had been penetrated by subversives. Two of the groups named as having infiltrated the Waffle are listed in the immigration manual as Communist-controlled organizations.

One is for the League for Socialist Action whose former director is suing the RCMP as a result. The suit claims that the Mounties have slandered the director and other members of the league by the label subversive. The other group listed in the manual is the Communist Party of Canada.

A different segment of the immigration manual was the subject of a report last week. The section detailed an East Indian Control Program that was part of Canada's immigration policy designed to stop a widespread racket whereby charter plane loads of East Indians were coming to Canada, supposedly as visitors on tours organized by unscrupulous operators. An immigration spokesman said the policy wasn't racist in the least and has since been scrapped.

Other organizations labelled Communist-controlled in the manual are:

Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Black Revolutionary Party, Canada-China Friendship Association, Canada-German Democratic Republic Society,

Canada-USSR Association, Canadian Council of National Groups, Canadian Party of Labor, Canadian-Polish Friendship Society.

Canadian Yugoslav Cultural-Educational Association, Chinese Canadian Welfare Association, Chinese Youth Association, Communist Party of Quebec, Dart Coon Club, East Wind Association, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Federation of Russian-Canadians, Federation of Yugoslav Canadians, Friends of Latin American People;

Friends of Vochenblatt Association, Hai Fung Association, Independent Mutual Benefit Federation, Kossuth Sick Benefit Society, Slovak Benefit Society, Maple Leaf Mutual, La Ligue des Femmes du Quebec, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, Ligue

des Jeunesses Communistes du Quebec, Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Lithuanian Literary Society;

Macedonian Canadian Peoples League, Bulgarian Canadian Peoples League, People's Democratic Rights Committee, Polish Democratic Association, Progressive Workers Movement, Quebec Revolutionary Youth, Quebec-USSR Association, Socialist Labor League, Society of Carpatho-Russian Canadians, Sons and Daughters of Canadian Lithuanian Mutual Benefit Society;

United Jewish Peoples Order Mutual Benefit Society, United Macedonian Canadian Committee, Workers Benevolent Association, Yiddish Cultural United Federation and Young Communist League of Canada.

undated c 1971

PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND JEWISH SURVIVAL

Inspired by the Vietnamese revolution, many people have come to support the anti-imperialist struggles of the Third World for its self-determination. Today the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau-Cape Verde continue to struggle for their right to determine the character of their relations with other nations and the nature of their own social system.

The Middle-East is no exception. There, the anti-imperialist struggle is being led by the Palestinians in their bid for self-determination.

The Middle-East crisis is not founded on the conflict between the national rights of two equally oppressed nationalities, the Jews and the Palestinians as "left" Zionists so glibly claims. The Jews living in Israel are not being oppressed by the Palestinians; it is rather the Palestinians that have suffered at the hands of the Israeli State which expelled them from their land and refuses to allow them to return.

Zionism twists the legitimate consciousness of national oppression held by Jews into an escapist and exclusivist mentality. Contrary to the heroic tradition of the Warsaw-ghetto Jews' uprising on April 19, 1943 against Nazi anti-Semitism, the Zionist organizations during WW II refused to fight for the right of European Jewry to escape to the country of their choice. They acquiesced to the closed-door, anti-Semitic immigration policy of the U.S., British, and Canadian governments thus placing sectarian Zionist interests above the life and death needs of the Jewish nationality.

Zionist ideology postulates that all non-Jews are conscious or potential anti-Semites. Thus, Zionism places the blame for the genocidal oppression of Jews on non-Jews in general. Similarly, the Palestinians are considered to be culpable in Jewish oppression, while the social system, capitalism, which breeds racism because of its inherent structural inequalities and imperialist character, remains blameless. Ironically, Israel today practices racism against both the Arabs and the black-skinned Jews in Israel.

Zionism, both left and right, is in fundamental contradiction to Palestinian self-determination. In place of the "law of return" which grants any Jew the right to immigrate to Israel and become its citizen immediately, a real solution of self-determination would have to grant that right instead to every Palestinian.

But, lately, under the impact of the October war, Israeli leaders have begun to mention the possibility of a mini-state of the West Bank and the Gaza strip, supposedly as a means of satisfying Palestinian national aspirations. This proposal is in the same vein as the scheme of General Spínola of Portugal who offers the Portuguese colonies "self-determination" on the basis that they remain integrated with Portugal—a prospect which actually denies self-determination. Any Palestinian mini-state would inevitably become a mere puppet-state of Israel and a concentration camp of Palestinians. Even this "concession" was wrenched from Israel because of its present profound crisis in its attempt to hold out the possibility of a peaceful future solution for its own population and to satisfy U.S. interests in the Arab pro-US camp. The crisis of Israeli society today is based on a shocked recognition that Israeli invincibility is a myth. With 55 days of fighting on the Syrian front, with a rejection of the mini-state by the Palestinian Liberation Organization and with the crisis in American society itself, Zionism holds out little hope but a continues and increasing number of casualties.

Rejecting any notion of driving the Jews into the sea, the Palestinian liberation movement has proposed that the feasible solution would be a unitary, democratic and secular state as the alternative to themselves being driven into the desert. Before Zionist colonialists came and began to buy Palestinian land from absentee landlords and proceeded to expel the peasants living there, Jews and Palestinians lived in harmony together together for many hundreds of years and there is no human reason why it could not be so again. The alternative is continual war. The way forward to Jewish survival in the Middle East is through Palestinian self-determination.

(SOCIALIST LEAGUE 363 - 6755

85 King St. E. M5G 1G3)

(1)

The central historic claim made by the Zionist movement since its inception until this very day is that the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine, would provide the only solution to the Jewish Question. Has Zionism solved the question of anti-semitism for our generation? Can we say that today we are provided with a cover of safety by the mere existence of Israel? Moreover, the left wing of the Zionist movement claimed that the implementation of the Zionist enterprise could lead to the social emancipation of the Jewish workers and farmers, both those in existence and those who would emerge through the creation of the state.

Largely on the basis of these claims, the Zionist movement came to command the alligence and active support of millions of well-meaning humanitarians, liberals, and social-democrats both Jews and non-Jews, throughout the world. The Zionist enterprise has also during its history gained the active support of many powerful institutions, governments, and states which commended the concrete power to insure the establishment of Israel. In fact, without the support of these, the Zionist enterprise would have remained no more than a Utopian fantasy.

Until the holocaust, Zionism had little basis to claim any kind of substantial support among the world-dispersed Jewish population. The historically unparalleled, systematic attempt to physically annihilate the European Jewish population during the Second World War was decisive in their stampede towards Zionism, even though the Zionist leadership refused to fight to open the doors to Jewish refugees the doors of even one country - except for Palestine.

In actuality this compliance with the anti-semitic closed-door policy of Canada, of the U.S., and of Britain was the logic of their sectarian loyalty to Zionism and so could not serve the life and death needs of the Jewish people.

The establishment of the state of Israel, and the worldwide activities of Zionist institutions and organizations have only now reached a high level of material power and historical maturity. The time has clearly come to subject these "achievements" to the test of critical analysis and evaluation, from the perspective of those deeply concerned with the liberation and social emancipation of the Jewish people, in particular, and with social progress, in general.

It appears to us that not only has the Zionist movement failed to advance social goals it claims for its objectives, but moreover its practical effect has been to thwart them. Rather than providing a haven for Jews in Palestine, the Zionist movement has created an historic trap for the Jewish people. What twist of logic considers that the solution to the Jewish question could be realized by the record of the Israeli state? That is?

1. The Israeli leaders have turned their state into a military fortress at war with all the nations surrounding it.
2. The material costs of Israel's war policy have been increasingly loaded on-to the backs of Israeli workers while at the same time a new generation of millionaires has risen to prominence and political power.

3. Israel's "black-skinned" Jews are suffering from oppression and misery in the white dominated social structure.
4. Despite Israel's claim to be democratic, it still has in force a series of emergency regulations imposed in its time by British imperialism and characterized by Zionist leaders at the time as "fascist laws".
5. The Israeli state, since its inception, has been allied with the most reactionary forces on a world scale.

(The Zionist Organization of America can quite correctly state in its open letter to Nixon published in the July 30, 1974 New York Times that, "A secure and strong Israel is vital to our country's global interests; Your administration, Mr. President, has consistently recognized this to be true.....What was true before October, 1973, remains true today, Israel still remains the only reliable friend and ally of our country in the Middle East. The de facto alliance between the United States and Israel remains the firm bedrock of our position in the Eastern Mediterranean.")

6. Israel was and remains a militant supporter of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia and was among the first to extend diplomatic recognition to the brutal military dictatorship of Chile.

For the past period, all Jews have been identified with the Israeli state simply because they were Jews. In fact, a Jew who did not identify with the interests of the Israeli state was considered to be a self-hater. We reject the slander of the Zionist establishment which equates critics of Zionism with anti-semites. We consider the fight against anti-semitism not to be identical with Zionism. In fact Zionism can be seen as an escapist diversion from fighting anti-semitism as shown by the fact that Israel's ally, Nixon, turns out to be an overt anti-Semite. The reason that critical Jews are considered self-haters is based upon the belief, in Zionist ideology, that all non-Jews are conscious or potential anti-Semites. Thus any solution to the Middle-East crisis that rejects the view that non-Jews are inevitable anti-semitic but accepts them as potential allies in our struggle against anti-Semitism is labeled as being a rejection of Jewishness. As a consequence of this sectarian attitude towards non-Jews, Zionism removes the need to consider the national rights of the Palestinians and in fact engenders a racist attitude towards Palestinians and Arabs in general. While seeking a path to Jewish self-determination, Zionists have denied that very same right to the Palestinians. In place of the "law of return" for every Jew, we would rather seek a solution to Palestinian self-determination and therefore a solution to the continual war in the Middle-East by granting the "right to return" to every Palestinian instead.

It is for the purpose of understanding these evaluations that the undersigned have come together. We are all non-Zionists who generally approach these questions from the point of view of those within the labor and progressive movements and the intellectual milieu. We include among us participants in a broad range of social struggles, and so we all bring to these particular concerns a deep and abiding interest in human progress and social justice.

Therefore, we are announcing the formation of a public committee whose task will be to bring this crucial discussion to a public platform. Whereas in the past, discussion in Canada of the theory and reality of Zionism has been overwhelmingly weighted in favor of Zionism, the developing contradictions of that point of view and the Mideast situation, especially after the October War, are demanding and producing critical re-evaluation in the propositions that underlie the status quo. We intend to assist in that process of political clarification and to express a non-Zionist opposition to the policies and missions of the Zionist enterprise.

We urge you to participate with us in this task.